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THE TOWN CHILD

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THE HEART OF THE EMPIRE

Discussions of Problems of Modern City Life in England

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LONDON: T. FISHER UNWIN

THE TOWN CHILD

BY

REGINALD A. BRAY, L.C.C.

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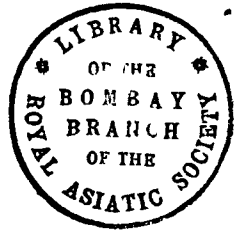

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PREFACE

EACH age is confronted by its own problem, a phase of that great world problem which began when conscious beings first crept out into the light, and will end only when they have shuffled back into the darkness whence they came. Men find themselves flung into the midst of an environment, in part friendly, in part hostile, but on the whole indifferent to their needs, and must battle with their circumstances as best they can. Wisdom brings to them a brief spell of happiness, folly a brief interlude of pain; but in either case they have left a mark upon the environment, and the environment has left a mark upon them. But before the problem can be solved and a final truce declared between the man and the environment, he is swept away and his descendants are faced by new conditions and a new riddle.

But in this new struggle the experience of the past can prove of signal service. Man can learn therefrom what power he has over the environment and what power the environment has over him, and can use the first to counteract the perhaps evil effects of the second. Thus, if the elements of the problem are always changing—and change they must, since the most powerful agency of change is the mutable factor of man—he is gathering knowledge which will render him more skilled to adapt himself to the novel conditions or mould them nearer to his will. So, though each age is confronted by its own problem, it reaches closer the heart of the solution than the age which has gone before; but a final solution must ever be impossible, because finality is not a characteristic of the world problem.

To-day we are confronted by the problem of the town. Men are flocking to the towns; already more than two-thirds of the people of England are aggregated in cities, and each census return indicates that the end is not yet. The sphinx of the twentieth century propounds to us the riddle as to what England will do with this town population, or, perhaps more truly, what this town population will do with England. In the present volume I have

endeavoured to find some answer to this riddle, so far as it is concerned with the children.

I have approached the problem from two points of view. In the First Part I have acted like a student of evolution anxious to deduce the characteristics of a coming race, as it slowly emerges on the plane of the world, by examining the reciprocal forces of the environment stamping its influence on the race, and of the race struggling in mortal combat with the environment. In the Second Part I have looked at the problem with the eye of the social reformer, as one not content with the present, but at the same time not despairing of the future, confident that to control in some degree the course of events is a task not altogether beyond the range of united effort.

To deal adequately with even that phase of the problem of the town which concerns children, would require not a volume but a library of volumes. Omissions are frequent, and whole branches of the subject, such as the physical health of the child, have been compressed into a few pages or a short chapter; while to other aspects of the problem an apparently inordinate space has been allotted. I have acted in this way not because I fail to realise the importance of the questions thus summarily treated, but because I am aware that they have been fully discussed by authors who can claim a wider experience and a more expert knowledge than any I can boast. On the other hand, I have written at length on certain topics, not necessarily because I believe them to be of the greatest moment, but because they have to a large extent been ignored by the student of social affairs.

I have made free use in this volume of sundry articles and essays of my own already published, in some cases transplanting whole paragraphs into the text; while a portion of a paper, entitled "Patriotism and Education" which appeared in *England a Nation* has been included in the final chapter.

REGINALD A. BRAY.

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CAMBERWELL, S.E.

PART I

THEORY

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM OF THE TOWN

THE world, regarded as the abode of man, is undergoing a process of transformation; it is ceasing to be a place of villages and is becoming a place of towns. Not in England only, but also on the Continent and throughout the United States the ratio of the rural to the urban population is steadily falling. House is joined to house, street to street, village to village, until that amazing conglomerate of human souls, termed a modern city, has emerged as the most significant characteristic of twentieth-century civilisation.

Nor, to judge by appearances, have we yet reached the limit of growth. In far distant days the advance of science may discover swifter and cheaper means of transit, and so spread the people more evenly over the country. But for the present we seem to be standing on the threshold of a gregarious age; and the next several generations must expect, with joyful anticipation or with grim foreboding, to view a continuous increase in this hive-like habit of life. It is therefore a matter not of idle curiosity but of urgent moment to discover the

changes, whether physical, mental or moral, which follow in the track of this new environment. We are confronted by the problem of the town and must solve it in our own way, or the solution, left to the fortuitous play of unthinking forces, may well prove our undoing.

A great writer has termed life a continuous adjustment of internal to external relations. However inadequate this definition may be in some respects, it does at least give a prominent place to one important truth. It lays stress on the overwhelming influence of environment. Man is no imperious spider sitting at the heart of things and spinning webs of worlds from the contents of his inner consciousness. Every moment of his existence the grouping of outside events demands from him some corresponding action; each breath he draws, each step he takes is a silent response to an order, unheard possibly, but none the less felt and obeyed. "Thinking reed" though he is from one point of view, from another he is blown to and fro by every gust of circumstance, passively submitting to the dictates of a master who will brook no rebellion;— a hewer of wood and a drawer of water from the cradle to the grave.

Though this yoke is always upon his shoulders he is, in general, unaware of his state of bondage, not indeed because the burden is light, but because he has ceased to be actively conscious of its weight. The various external circumstances are set in the frame of a definite environment, and the corresponding adjustments have been made so often that they have hardened into habits, while the habits have become a large portion of his character. "Must

not," writes Jean Paul, "the little human being, placed on such an eternally and ever same acting world, be borne as upon a flying earth, when the only directions a teacher can give can avail nothing, because he has just unconsciously received his impulse from its motion."

Thus almost without a consciousness of the fact, a man's character reflects the hue of the environment. The individual peculiarities which distinguish him from his fellows, important as they may be to himself, have little more effect than the bubbles that dance on the surface of a great river, so far as the general march of events is concerned. To resist the drift of circumstance demands a sustained effort, of which few are capable. The ordinary person takes a house or a tenement, not because it presents peculiar attractions, but because it is there, and because to venture further afield is wearisome. He takes the job nearest at hand because it also is there, and he takes his wife from the adjoining street because she likewise is there. All is arranged for him; and to fall in with existing arrangements is to follow the line of least resistance.

The more restricted the outlook and the narrower the field of individual experience, the more accurately do a man's habits take the impress of the environment. The place in which he lives becomes for him the only conceivable and the only desirable spot. The inhabitant of a town returns from a holiday in the country with a feeling of thankfulness that he is back, and rejoices in the excitement of the crowd, the old familiar noises and the flaunting brilliance of the streets. Even the

prisoner, released after many years of confinement, is said to find the world outside cold and strange, and to think regretfully of the warm homeliness of the prison cell.

To live under one set of conditions is to receive an indelible mark of their influence. The lives of the majority of the human race are confined within narrow limits; and for them the grouping of the surroundings is of paramount importance. The children of the town, in particular, are cast out upon a world whose chief characteristic is an unvarying uniformity. If, therefore, we are anxious to discover the cause of their characteristics, we may expect to find that the general environment of a city is largely responsible for the result.

Already, to some extent, men's eyes have been turned in this direction. They have come to associate a low standard of physique with urban conditions, and have deplored the inroads made on the vital capital of the nation by these aggregations of people. But they have seldom gone further than this, and are prone to regard the problem of the town as a problem for a public health department to solve. Yet it would be strange if no more far-reaching effects were to be discovered. For, looked at exclusively from the standpoint of physical health, an urban differs from a rural environment, merely by an excess of carbonic acid in the air, a deficiency of sunlight in the houses, and a lack of space for active exercise in the streets. But when we shift our gaze to those more complex circumstances on which mental and moral growth depends, we are confronted, in our comparison of town and country, by the destruction of one type of environ-

ment and the creation of another. We must therefore expect that a closer examination of the problem of a town will bring to light results not less important and perhaps no less disquieting than those with which men have already become familiar.

Regarding life as the continual adjustment of internal to external relations, the problem of the town requires us to estimate the extent and character of the influence exerted by the environment upon man. But the definition is incomplete in two respects, or, at any rate, fails to reveal two facts of fundamental significance.

In the first place the definition appears to regard man as a sort of placid creature, passively adapting his ways to the stress of fixed conditions. But a man does not swallow the environment whole, like a dog bolting a bone. He possesses a more delicate appetite, selecting for his consumption now this morsel and now that, while he rejects the remainder which might, so far as he is concerned, have no existence. His own particular environment is merely that portion of the general environment to which, whether willingly or not, he happens to attend.

This principle of "subjective selection" was first elaborated by James Ward. "The twilight," he says, "that sends the hen to roost, sets the fox to prowl, and the lion's roar which gathers the jackals scatters the sheep"; or again, "Take the passengers on a coach going through some glen in Scotland; in one sense the glen is the same for all, their common environment for the time being. But one, an artist, will single out subjects to sketch; another, an angler, will see likely pools

for fish; the third, a geologist, will detect raised beaches, glacial striation or perched blocks." A countryman, on his first visit to a city, perceives much that is ignored by the permanent resident. The inhabitant of the ghetto is unconscious of most of the misery which a stranger reads into his lot. A blind man sees nothing of a town's ugliness, a deaf man hears nothing of the noise; and we are all partly blind and partly deaf. We doubtless take nothing out of the world, but we certainly bring much into it and pick up much more during our earthly pilgrimage. We are not therefore passive recipients of the storm of impressions which drive in upon us from outside; we are also active and formative factors in the process. The degree of variety in the environment sets an external limit to the range of possible experience, our character and our training introduce an internal limit, but subject to these two restrictions we are the creators of the world in which we dwell.

This selective aspect of man's nature rises into importance when we are considering questions of education. We may transform a man's environment not merely by altering the disposition of external things, but by altering *him*. When we are studying the problem of the town as a problem in statics, and are endeavouring to explain existing conditions, this selective factor can be neglected, as it has already been included in the facts observed. But when we are striving to fashion a future less sombre than the present, we cannot afford to drop this potent weapon of reform.

In the second place the definition is unfortunate, because it fails to emphasise the fact that man him-

self is part of the external relations and in a town constitutes the larger portion. As an isolated individual he can do little more than submit to the attack of the environment; but, in his collective capacity as a member of an organised society, he can with no small hope of success take the field against the crude brutality of his surroundings. We must therefore estimate the value of the forces at our disposal for the contest, or, in other words, determine the effect of the influence that can be exerted by man on his environment.

Then at length we shall be in a position to launch our bark of reform. We have indeed long been conscious of evils, which have appeared with a strange uniformity in every city, and have attempted to deal with them one by one, as they cropped up above the surface. But scant success has attended our efforts; nor can we look for any better result until we have realised the collective effect of the mighty forces of the town which have been permitted to develop almost without guidance, and certainly without suspicion of their true significance.

CHAPTER II

ENVIRONMENT AND MAN

(1) The Nature and the Human Element; (2) The Training of the Body; (3) The Training of the Mind; (4) The Training of the Character; (5) General Conclusions.

In these days of Elementary, Higher Elementary and Secondary Schools; in these times of Continuation Classes, Technical Institutes and Colleges of Science; in this epoch of physical, mental and moral training; in this age of denominationalism, undenominationalism and secularism, of the religion of Cowper-Temple and the religion of the Churches; in short, in this twentieth century era of educational machinery, we are apt to think that were all this elaborate appliance swept away, man's body would be left unformed, his faculties undeveloped and his character undisciplined. But this is the fallacy which mistakes his clothes for the person who wears them, or the creeper for the house up which it grows, which neglects the essential and the obvious in its efforts to give weight to the subsidiary and the artificial. We see the finished work of our designing and, in the pride of the creator, forget how small has been our actual achievement. We have ignored the influence of the natural forces and have failed to note how near completion was the article when first we took it in hand. We add a little here, take away something there, and fancy we call into existence a whole new universe of our own.

In those ages before the State was perplexed with the cares of education, men were not entirely savages. Even now in some remote village we may encounter a man who has escaped the net of the schools, but who surprises us by the extent of his knowledge, the acuteness of his observation, and the instinctive reverence he exhibits for all that is beautiful. We must not therefore, in our zeal for education as an art, misconstrue or underestimate the value of education as a natural process.

In the present chapter I shall be concerned exclusively with education as a natural process, and shall say nothing of those more specialised institutions which seek to make good the defects of that general training to which all are exposed. I shall therefore ignore the influence of educational establishments and religious organisations and address myself to the task of investigating the qualifications and the efficiency of the environment regarded as the schoolmaster of the child.

(1.) *The Nature and the Human Element.*

Looked at from the standpoint of environment, the training of the child is due to the influence of two masters. There is first that which is usually called Nature, including under this term the fields and rivers and woods and hills, the clouds and sky, the sun and the stars, in short all the more permanent and mysterious portion of the world, over which man has little control, and where his handwriting is for the most part illegible. There is next, man and the works of man and all that is suggestive of man's art and contrivance. These two great teachers may perhaps be named the

nature and the human element. Each leaves its characteristic mark on the pupil, but the lessons are very different in the effects produced. As will appear later, the one is in part opposed to and in part complementary of the other.

The bearing of this distinction on the problem of the town will be at once apparent. For the salient difference between a rural and an urban environment lies in the predominating influence of the nature element in the village and of the human element in the city. Fields and woods fly in retreat before the advance of the invading houses; man and man swarm in and take their place.

Neither factor in education is sufficient of itself; the two must blend in due proportion or a distorted and stunted growth will be the result. The more prosperous classes of the community have been so accustomed to reside now in the country and now in the town, that they have rarely been at the pains to distinguish between the influences of the nature and the human element; and indeed for them the distinction is, comparatively speaking, unimportant. Yet half unconsciously, and without inquiring into the cause or realising the significance of the fact, they have called attention to the divergent effect of environment by comparing the robust health and the stolid stupidity of the country-bred child with the pale face and the precocious sharpness of his brother in the town. But for the majority of the people who spend their days, or at least their youth, within the limits of a few square miles, the character of the surroundings cannot be disregarded.

A few writers on education, like Rousseau, have grasped the significance of environment and have

sought to turn this knowledge into schemes of practical reform. But Rousseau was too convinced of the evil innate in the civilised man to allow that any good could come of the human element; and his system, despite its many merits, remains incomplete.

The comparative neglect of the subject and its essential importance must permit a somewhat long excursus into this comparatively-speaking unexplored region. On the one side there is the nature element, including the so-called works of nature which stand outside of and do not suggest man; on the other is the human element, in which man and his doings alone figure and where the world of nature shrivels up and vanishes in the far background of the dust of his operations. Nowhere, either in a town or in a village, is the one factor allowed to exercise an effect altogether unmodified by the influence of the other. But the respective parts played by the two in a town and in a village are so different that a study of an urban as contrasted with a rural environment will bring to light the most salient characteristics which distinguish the one from the other.

(2.) *The Training of the Body.*

It will be unnecessary to elaborate at any great length the divergent physical effects due respectively to the influences of the nature and the human element. The contrast and the opposition are so striking that they have seldom failed to excite attention. The country is the nursery of healthy animals; and it is to the village men fly to regain the strength they have lost during their sojourn within the walls of a town. A change in the

country is the one panacea recommended for all the ills that lurk in a city, and, unlike most other panaceas, seldom fails to produce the results anticipated.

No recondite research is required to explain the cause of this phenomenon. Of all poisons the human is the most common and the most fatal. Man is the arch-enemy of man; to himself and his fellows his exhalations are injurious; his waste-products are a never-failing source of pollution, scattering broadcast the seeds of disease and the seeds of death. The factories, which supply his luxuries and minister to his needs, threaten his well-being; they fill the air with noxious and evil-smelling vapours; they choke his lungs with smoke and dust; while they levy hard tribute on the lives of the workers. The art of healing has indeed become more ingenious, but it has been countered by a developed ingenuity in the art of disease. A modern treatise on pathology describes a hundred forms of sickness from which our ancestors were immune; and of these new pests the bulk are due to the more malignant, because more concentrated, contagion of man.

Opposed to the human element, as the healing agency active to redress the balance of evil, stands the element of Nature. Her plants and her trees take in the poisoned air and give it out pure for man's breathing. Her soil, and her micro-organisms that dwell in the soil, destroy the foul products of decay and convert them into substances fit for man's use. The heat of the sun passes over the polluted water, raises it to the clouds, and returns it uncontaminated in the rain; the light of the sun penetrates

into man's dwellings and plays havoc among the bacteria that prey upon his health.

Thus the balance between health and disease turns on the relative strength of these two conflicting forces. So long as man was scattered sparsely over the surface of the ground, so long Nature easily held her own. But with the growth of towns and the massed multitudes of the inhabitants, emerged a new danger which threatened the equilibrium. The scanty supply of air passed unpurified from mouth to mouth; the throng of houses, jostling one another across narrow interspaces and ever rearing themselves higher and higher, hid the light of heaven from the lower tenements. Children's faces lost the colour of health, girls grew anæmic, women became shrunken, men stunted, narrow-chested and ill-developed. The finger of the balance moved in the wrong direction; Nature was proving herself unable to meet the new demands. All the art of science could scarce have maintained the equipoise in the scales of life and death, and all the art of science was never summoned to essay the task.

Statistics of mortality fail to indicate the real effect of the new environment. We keep men alive now who were better in their graves; with ingenious skill we foster the spark of vitality, but its light glows faintly, like the pale and unhealthy phosphorescence of decaying wood. We evade death's fatal stroke, but cannot escape death's wounds. No one familiar with the life history of individual families can fail to have grasped this truth. Always some illness, generally petty in character but none the less distressing, hangs over the home. Headache and toothache and earache,

digestive troubles and nervous strain, colds and languor and nausea, and those innumerable ailments which defy description; one or the other is seldom absent, and its presence indicates a loss of efficiency and a loss of happiness. The most striking results are masked; tables, however carefully compiled, present a misleading record. If we could measure the average energy of the individual, we might then be able to exhibit the contrast picture between town and country in its true perspective.

But for the time we must rest content with the conclusions drawn from general principles. The balance between the nature and the human element has been upset. Conditions of life are less healthy, and it were matter for some surprise if the level of man's energy remained unaltered. It may be that, as science grows stronger and meddles more actively in the affairs of the city, she may be able to add the necessary counter-weight to the scale of life and thus bring back the index of the balance to the neutral position.

(3.) *The Training of the Mind.*

From the first moment that a babe breaks in upon the world he begins to learn, and, so long as his mind remains open to impressions, continues learning. Through eye and ear and touch messages are ceaselessly passing to the brain, are there recorded and stored up for future use, or sloughed off and thrown out upon the waste-heap of oblivion. The number and the quality of these many "suitors who throng the ante-chamber of consciousness" cannot be a matter of indifference, but must count for much in the education of a child. Just as in a school one

teacher can catch the attention of his pupil and drive home the lesson, while another fails to do more than rouse vague and transient ideas; so one environment is found to be a skilled schoolmaster while another proves a mere untrained and ineffective beginner.

Now Nature in many respects bears herself as a teacher who is striving with due thought and skill to impress certain truths on the mind of the growing child. In the first place she draws her diagrams on a large scale, spreading them with lavish hand over sky and hill and meadow. Detail there is in abundance, but it may be neglected and does not puzzle the observer. Next, she is never over-hasty, but is content to develop her subject slowly. The corn does not sprout from the seed and ripen in a night; the acorn does not grow to an oak in a year; the seasons do not spin round like some bewildering wheel of life. Further, with cunning design, she is constantly giving examples of cause and effect, of likeness remaining constant in the midst of difference. She shows the same familiar fields and woods, now green with the freshness of spring, now brown and golden with the hues of autumn, and now white with the winter snow. The grass is at one time parched with the sun's heat, and at another refreshed and green with the rain. Everywhere she exhibits an evident desire to display the order in her operations. But, if in general she presents her lessons in easily assimilated portions, she knows well how to employ startling and dramatic interruptions. The crash of the thunder, the flash of the lightning, the emergence and the disappearance of the rainbow, all leave on the mind impressions not easily effaced.

Finally she is very patient, and with an amazing assiduity repeats a lesson over and over again; but at the same time she is never wearisome because new details accompany the rehearsal. In short, apart from any school instruction, a child left to her care will acquire no inconsiderable amount of what, from its orderly arrangement and accurate character, may rightly be regarded as knowledge.

A child, therefore, whose life is spent in a village, finds in Nature, ready to his hand, a benignant teacher; but in the town it is the human element which shapes for him the world of his experience. Doubtless, even within a city, the seasons revolve, while diligent search will lay bare some few phenomena, such as the growth of grass and the budding of leaves. But they are neglected because thrust into the background, and ignored because they knock feebly at the portals of the mind. Indeed these few stragglers from the country, in their bedraggled garb, present an uncanny and almost artificial appearance, like intruders straying on to another's territory. Nature in a town is an interesting survival, cropping up accidentally or thrust away on some remote siding; man with his works is the familiar figure, the creator and the inspirer of the whole scene.

Different as is the environment, no less different is the lesson taught. Take, for example, the picture of the street as it stands reflected in the mind of the child. It is a narrow channel bounded by houses on either hand and blocked at both ends by other houses. Men and women, strangers for the most part, move in endless series down the pavement; a sinuous and interminable procession of

vehicles in primitive disarray straggles along the road. All things, whether animate or inanimate, change and change ceaselessly; they seem to emerge from the nowhere without rhyme or reason, for a brief space form a portion of his universe, and then without rhyme or reason pass out into the nowhere again. They resemble living pictures flashed on a screen by a magic lantern, interesting in themselves but without organic connection either with himself or the world of his doings.

For him the stream of thought, in place of being formed of a few clear-cut impressions, is a confused torrent of chaotic perceptions. There is no definite centre round which these thousand sights revolve, nothing to hold them together and give them unity, nothing to produce the consciousness of cause and effect; all is bewilderingly different. To enable the child to see this world as a place of order two conditions must be satisfied; there must be regular change, but there must be some constant element in the subjects of that change. Only in this way can he perceive one event in process of passing over into another. Natural objects, as has been shown, are distinguished by the possession of both these essential factors. Every cornfield, for example, from the time the young shoot pricks the soil until the ear is harvested, is always altering, but is always the same field of corn. But one looks vainly for any such phenomenon in the streets of a town. Men and vehicles change, but then they are different men and different vehicles; the houses and the observer remain constant, but they do not change and are only mute spectators of the shifting scenes. The permanent element exhibits no variation, and

that which varies presents no element of permanence.

In this respect the street is typical of the environment of a town. It is the abode of irrelevant, disconnected and casual change. Its panorama, in all the endless variations, produces no conception of a world of phenomena, related through cause and effect, and merely serves to fill the mind with a whole lumber-room of useless, though perhaps entertaining, rubbish.

But incidentally one well-known characteristic of the city-nurtured child finds here its explanation. In this medley of the unexpected he is continually called on to adjust his actions to some alteration of the environment. By frequent practice he acquires an unusual dexterity in the task. He develops a phenomenal sharpness and readiness of resource; that rapid perception of the new accompanied by an immediate decision of how to meet it. But there is no permanent set of the mind in this attitude towards the world, nothing that will, so to say, subject phenomena to its own purposes instead of merely adapting itself to the exigencies of the moment. Here, too, lies the source of the child's acute perception of all that happens in his neighbourhood, that queer assortment of fragments of knowledge about events and peoples which is ready to overflow in a ceaseless stream of words. But nothing connects the facts, nothing rivets them in the memory; the new takes the place of the old, and the past is little more than a miscellaneous collection of the scenes through which he has lived during the last few years. Open the door of the crowded lumber-room of the mind and a host of

the articles, most recently thrust in, will tumble about your ears.

If the methods of the town, looked at in the light of a teacher, are at fault, the selection of the material for the curriculum is no less defective. The child is indeed plied with an amazing abundance of facts, but the facts are all contained within a narrow range of observation. Through all the innumerable changes runs the persistent melody of the human element. A single theme, worked out into countless minor variations, remains as the permanent motive of the whole. In spite of the discursive memory of the town-child with its wonderful assortment of detached ideas, his outlook is limited, his circle of thought restricted, while his world of experience is so confined that to the stranger it presents a quaint and distorted appearance.

To him the country, of which he hears tell at school, must seem unreal, a spot clad in the wild imagery of a dream. He must conjure up the idea of rural scenes by juggling with the material which has passed before his eyes. With a scanty stock of garish colours he must in imagination paint the picture of those places of which he reads. A hill suggests to his mind an idea of Lavender Hill, with its load of dingy and mean respectabilities; a lane is associated with East Lane in its carnival dress of Saturday night. To him a forest is but an extended collection of the forlorn plane trees which gasp for life on the pavements of the wider streets; a field appears as a mere prolongation of the closely-shaved matting which covers the surface of the minor parks; while a common object, like a bee-hive, inevitably suggests the place where mother gets her beer.

The books he reads speak to him in a language full of unintelligible ideas. Descriptions of country life are without rich associations, call up faint and misleading pictures, and so fail to stir the imagination. The loss is greater than might at first be anticipated. If the reader will think of the tales which most strongly appealed to him in his childhood, he will remember that the secret of their charm lay in the fact that the scenes were always supposed to be laid in the immediate neighbourhood of his home. The fairies' enchanted forest was a wood only a few miles distant; the caves of the goblins were holes in a hill standing against the horizon; while in the night-time water-elves and wood-nymphs danced in the coppices round his house. Now, nearly all the best children's stories—naturally seeing that a town was never designed to be the dwelling-place of a child—transport their heroes and their heroines to spots far removed from the bustle of the city walls. The town child reads these tales for the human interest they possess, but fails to appreciate their other merits. The scenes, instead of being robed in the warm garb of reality, resemble the vague and unsubstantial pictures of a dream. The true story-teller of the town, so far as children are concerned, is still to seek. At the present such books, as deal with the life of a city, are little more than dismal catalogues of dying women and tortured children, of flaring gin-shops and drunken quarrels, of men repenting of their sins only after having kicked to death their wives and daughters. In short, they are designed to produce that morbid and unhealthy atmosphere which usually pervades the meeting of a Mission Band of Hope.

It would be easy to show in detail, if it were necessary to perform the task, that not only in the world of books but also in the world of life the narrow environment of a town cramps and distorts the interests of the child. Interests demand contact with vivifying fact; they are essentially the offspring born of actual experience, and their wealth varies with the range of outlook. It is impossible to bar out half the universe—the portion, moreover, most stimulating to the child—and expect to suffer no loss. The town, in short, fails as a teacher because its methods are faulty and its curriculum one-sided. In consequence it cannot store the mind with those varied and vivid and connected memories which are the source of our choicest interests and the secret of our richest happiness.

(4.) *The Training of the Character.*

So long as the attempt to estimate the effect of environment is confined to the task of tracing the influence exerted on the purely mental or physical development of the child, the work of a writer is attended with no very serious difficulties. He is dealing with facts whose reality is admitted by all; he is concerned with phenomena which, if they do not admit of exact measurement, are at any rate amenable to the ordinary methods of scientific observation. That a vitiated atmosphere makes for ill-health, that a narrow outlook circumscribes the field of possible experience, are assertions which no one is likely to gainsay. But his troubles begin when he ventures to stray from this beaten track into the cloud-wrapt regions of moods and feelings and sentiments.

But the duty cannot well be shirked. For it is precisely in the encouragement of a certain attitude, mainly emotional, towards the world, that the influence of environment is most clearly displayed; and it is just amid the miscellanies of this attitude that we must rummage if we desire to find the explanation of those general characteristics which distinguish whole groups of men.

Let us begin with a simple example, where a physical explanation of the result naturally suggests itself. We are, let us suppose, engaged in some intellectual pursuit in the neighbourhood of a factory, where the drone of machinery and the clank of tools are never silent. Long habit has inured us to the sounds and we are unconscious of the incessant uproar. To all appearance our tasks are performed as satisfactorily, and we ourselves as little affected by the noise, as though we dwelt amid scenes of unbroken tranquillity. But the nerves and the nerve-cells, if questioned, would tell a different story; the incessant traffic along the chords leaves traces not to be ignored. The increase of lunacy is generally associated with the conditions of modern life and is attributed not merely to an accentuated stress of work, but also to the novel surroundings amid which that work is carried on. Now what takes the form of mental breakdown with the few appears, in the case of the many, as mental strain leading to restless and irritable moods. Medical men are even beginning to isolate a definite type of brain trouble caused by frequent railway journeys.

While physical causes, such as unrepaired waste of nervous tissue, appear to account for the effect,

we cannot altogether ignore the mental side of the question. We have long seen good reasons to reject or modify the lessons of the older psychologists. To them the mind was a waxen tablet on which the various impressions that came through the senses were recorded. Nothing which did not make a mark on the wax by rising into a man's consciousness was supposed to exert any influence upon his thoughts. If he failed to hear the sound of a bell, the bell, so far as he was concerned, might never have been struck.

But this simple view is no longer tenable. A whole host of impressions, though we are not definitely aware of their existence, are potent factors in our mental history. We may not give them our attention, they may fail to cross the threshold of consciousness, but none the less they stand outside the door, and their murmurs mingle with the voices of the more insistent visitors who have gained admittance. They form, in consequence, part of the general atmosphere of the mind. The person, for example, who works near a factory, though he ignores the noise, in a certain sense is continuously aware of what is happening, since he at once notes any marked change in the volume of sound. The man, who sleeps during a sermon, wakes the moment the drone of the preacher comes to an end.

William James, better than any other author, has called attention to this complexity of our mental operations. In the chapter on "The Stream of Thought" in his *Principles of Psychology*, he writes:

"What must be admitted is that the definite images of traditional psychology form but the very smallest part

of our minds as they actually live. The traditional psychology talks like one who should say a river consists of nothing but pailsful, spoonsful, quartpotsful, barrelsful, and other moulded forms of water. Even were the pails and the pots all actually standing in the stream, still between them the free water would continue to flow. It is just this free water of consciousness that psychologists resolutely overlook. Every definite image in the mind is steeped in and dyed in the free water that flows round it. With it goes the sense of its relations, near and remote, the dying echo of whence it came to us, the dawning sense of whither it is to lead. The significance, the value, of the image, is all in this halo or penumbra that surrounds or escorts it, or rather that is fused into one with it and becomes bone of its bone and flesh of its flesh; leaving it, it is true, the same *thing* it was before, but making it an image of that thing newly taken and freshly understood."

To this "free water" or "halo" he has given the name of psychic overtone or fringe. In dealing with questions of environment the influence of these overtones is of the essence of the matter. For these overtones are the summed effect of those numberless impressions which are continually streaming in from the world outside; in other words, they are the creation of the environment itself.

In special cases we all admit that some influences exercise a tranquillising effect while others encourage excitement. King Saul, when the black mood was upon him, sent for David and his harp and so obtained relief. Now if David, with perpetual harping of an appropriate kind, had constantly dogged the steps of Saul, and had successfully escaped the first few vicious javelin thrusts, it is probable that the monarch, though he would soon have ceased to hear the sounds, would yet

have remained subject to their soothing effect and might have even escaped the darker tragedies of his closing career. Now in the environment we have this sort of perpetual harper, or more truly a whole orchestra of musicians, constantly following us and strumming away the same old tune. We may not attend to the strains, but none the less our whole being throbs in a kind of rhythmic harmony to these ever-throbbing overtones.

Just because the environment is always present, its effect is continuous and cumulative. Like a persistent melody it haunts our goings and gives to our feelings their characteristic tone. We must therefore, if we desire to reach the heart of things, inquire whether any distinctive melodies distinguish a rural and an urban environment.

An environment, where the nature element is the predominant factor, is distinguished by the presence of three characteristics—repose, silence, beauty. Acting as they do in harmonious co-operation, these three forces exert a lasting and massive influence on mankind. Woven into the fibres of his being, they will be found to make for strength and stability, patience and calm. They strike the slow and heavy notes on the scale of life, and men's feelings are tuned to respond in unison.

There is first, then, the atmosphere of repose and calm which drenches and interpenetrates the phenomena of Nature. An abundant leisure and a spacious dignity distinguish her operations. We wander through the woods and, as someone has said, "all things seem to stand still and await our passing." We find ourselves a part of a universe

from which the need of jostling haste and precipitate anxiety has disappeared. We feel that we are, like the pilgrims on the great road in *Kim*, gently drifting forward in an existence wherein time plays no appreciable part.

This feeling is no child of fancy and vain delusion. Nature is slow and will not be hurried, strive we never so fiercely to hasten the rate of progress. Seed-time is separated from harvest by a space of months we cannot bridge. In the fulness of days the fruits ripen, the trees attain maturity and the summer suns come round. The farmer succeeds by seizing the opportunities as they are given him; he cannot forestall their appearance or recall them when once they are gone. But if Nature is slow, her slowness is the slowness of strength, that slowness in which things are done, and not the dilatory leisure of weakness, in which tasks are neglected and work left incomplete.

Secondly, just as the movements of Nature are slow, so also, for the most part, they are without shrill and jarring sounds. Even the crash of the thunder and the roar of the storm are mere bridges connecting two tracts of silence; while these deep notes, with their solemn tones and grave accents, are nearer akin to silence than to noise. A spirit of restfulness, almost oppressive, broods over the countryside: the rustle of leaves and the song of the birds are less an interruption and more a harmonious accompaniment of the whole unbroken tranquillity. The strange, tense mood of the town, where any check or delay brings with it a stab of intolerable irritation, is smoothed out and relaxed, and its place taken by a sense of actual pleasure in dilatory movement.

Thirdly, this same note—the note, that is, of a diffused and potent tranquillity—is reiterated with additional force in the beauty of Nature. This beauty possesses a distinctive character of its own and has nothing in common with the beauty which adorns the pomps and pageants of man. The rich play of colouring in a carnival, the gorgeous glitter of a regiment of soldiers at a State function, charm the eye, and men shout and cheer in excitement at the spectacle. But a man, as he reaches a hilltop and gazes down on the wide sweep of meadow and woodland rolling away to the blue horizon, is seized with no eager impulse to wave his hat and cry aloud in a burst of rapturous enthusiasm. One can well imagine that even the most fluent of orators might experience a strange halting of tongue and feel an unusual obstacle in the way of delivering his impassioned speech on the rights and wrongs of man, were he made to face a valley of beech trees rich with their autumn hues and red-gold in the light of the setting sun. There is something incongruous in the association of sudden and turbulent noise with the peaceful beauty of the countryside.

Thus it becomes clear that the three characteristics of the nature element—repose, silence, beauty—work together towards the same end. The slowness of the countryman and his stolid immobility are notorious. Developed in an exaggerated degree this quality, from the stubborn opposition it offers to all forms of change, may militate against the progress of the human race. It possesses, however, stores of latent energy which can be drawn on in times of stress, but which are not present in the restless activity of the inhabitant of a town.

With the intrusion of the human element a marked change breaks in upon the scene. Perhaps the most striking characteristic of man, as he appears when massed in large numbers, is to be sought in the noise and squalid ugliness of his operations. To house him at any reasonable cost, he demands unbroken lines of mean and unsightly dwellings, intricate mazes of narrow streets and a sedulous exclusion of Nature and her works. To provide him with the sources of livelihood, he is driven to cover whole acres of ground with sombre blocks of factories. Towering chimneys trail across the heavens clouds of evil-smelling vapours, which precipitate in an incessant shower of greasy soot. The rattle and the drone of machinery, and the hacking cough of the gas-engine set the air throbbing with heavy pulses of sound. To supply him with his food and his pleasures, he has called into being gangs of raucous-voiced hawkers, fantastic armies of peripatetic merchants, each shrilling the merits of his respective wares, and an endless stretch of garishly decorated streets. To obtain means of slow and tedious transit, he passively acquiesces in the piercing shriek of the engine and the ponderous roar of the trains over the arches, as they pass level with the upper storeys of his house. He patiently submits to the wearying clatter of horses' hoofs, the rattle of wheels over the paving and the jangling clang of 'bus and tram. Ear and eye, though the attention may ignore the fact, are harassed through every moment of the day. The town, while it can boast no influence which makes for tranquillity, delivers a continuous assault on jaded nerves and sets them throbbing and thrilling in a vain attempt

to adjust their tension to the note of the stimulus. Like a wound kept irritable by constant friction, the nerves of those who make the town their home, are allowed no respite nor afforded any opportunity to repair the ravages made by this perennial tumult. They are thrown into a curious state of unstable equilibrium, and any additional shock leads to a fierce discharge of undirected energy.

Repose, silence and beauty, these are the salient features which distinguish the presence of the nature element; excitement, noise and a kind of forlorn and desperate ugliness, follow in the track of the human element. The nature element is the foster-parent of a race difficult to rouse and slow to forsake the customs of the past, but effective in action by reason of the stubborn resolution impressed upon its character. The human element, a very incarnation of the spirit of unrest, encourages a temperament, shallow and without reserve, which passes in rapid alternation from moods of torpor to moods of effervescent vivacity, and nurtures a people eager for change and yet discontented with all that change brings; impatient of the old, but none the less intolerant of the new.

We have so far regarded the environment as encouraging certain moods and types of temperament; we must now consider it as the parent of certain ideas and speculations touching its own origin and significance. We have approached the subject from the side of feeling, we must now approach it from the side of knowledge. As we probe deeper we shall lay bare other distinctions between the influences of the nature and the human element,

less easy to explain, but probably of deeper moment in the formation of character.

We are all of us unconscious logicians, diligently engaged every hour of our waking life in composing lofty systems of unwritten and often unwritable philosophy. Some of our conclusions are wise and some are foolish, few are altogether true, but few likewise are altogether false; but whether wise or foolish, false or true, they represent our ideas of the world and of all that goes on in the world.

We have, for example, shrewd notions of the character of our friends and neighbours, and regulate our actions accordingly. But if we were asked to explain our reasons for the opinions we cherish, we should as a rule find the task impossible. For these opinions are the resultant of a thousand impressions which, though they have slipped through the gates of memory, are yet safely housed in some record-chamber of the mind. Each never so little deed, each never so little word, each never so little look, leaves a mark never to be effaced, and is elaborated within the mysterious recesses of our being into work-a-day theories, though we are all unconscious of the intricate process or the means of its operation.

Just as we have our notions of the character of our friends, so too we have equally clear ideas of the character of the world. Doubtless few of us could formulate our generalised conception of the universe, if we may give it this high-sounding title. But—and here we reach the heart of the matter—we adjust our actions to correspond with these unexpressed ideas.

The great mass of our conclusions are not

reached by following the definite rules of formal logic, but may nevertheless be true and founded on a real experience, though we may be unable to produce the evidence a rigid proof demands. Just as we saw that a number of impressions, coming from the environment, failed to attract our attention and yet affected the tone and colouring of our consciousness; so likewise a host of facts, once present to us in thought, or on the margin of thought, but long since lost sight of by our ordinary memory, are stored up and elaborated in some other chamber of our intellectual treasure-house. Investigations in the region of the sub-conscious self would seem to suggest that nothing is ever completely forgotten. Now this sub-conscious self not only retains the grip of the past, but also churns up the material it secretes, and finally sends it up to our conscious self in the form of those opinions on which we base our life. As Mr Jastrow says in his work on *The Sub-conscious*:—

"There exists in all intellectual endeavour a period of incubation, a process in great part sub-conscious, a slow concealed maturing through absorption of suitable pabulum. Schopenhauer calls it 'an unconscious rumination,' a chewing over and over again of the end of thought preparatory to its assimilation with our mental tissue; another speaks of it as the glow that precedes the white heat. The thesis implied by such terms has two aspects: first, that the process of assimilation may take place with suppressed consciousness; second, that the greater part of the influences that in the end determine our mental growth may be effective without direct exposure to the searching light of conscious life. Both principles enforce the view that we develop by living in an atmosphere congenial to the occupation that we seek to make our own."

In the same way, given the environment, we develop in a manner congenial to its atmosphere.

In the case of a child this process of unconscious reasoning is of fundamental importance, as the only kind of reasoning of which he is capable. He is not troubled with spinning syllogisms and manipulating trains of inductions or deductions. His conclusions come to him by intuition, and intuition is largely the product of sub-conscious maturation.

These considerations give a new significance to the environment. As we grow older and our natures harden beneath the stress of routine, we find it difficult to modify our conclusions. We remain unconscious of, or at any rate ignore, conflicting evidence. We are like a man who has written a book, and, having given our opinions to the world, feel that they are now stereotyped. We have assumed our attitude towards life, and nothing short of an intellectual cataclysm will disturb the equilibrium. But in childhood we are still in a condition of primitive pliability; we are in process of elaborating our generalised conception of the universe, and every fact that comes to our notice is awarded its due weight. But not every fact comes to our notice during childhood; it is therefore a matter of no small moment that the facts which do come should not be selected from a too narrow or a too particular circle of experience. If our eyes are open to but one half of the world during our youth, we shall not in later years see the other half in its true proportions.

To guard against a misunderstanding of what follows, I may perhaps be allowed to add a few

remarks. First, I have no thought of the child sitting down and solemnly analysing his impressions, indulging in a train of complex introspection and finally rising in triumph with his panoply of general conclusions. The whole process of elaboration is transacted, as already shown, in a region where active consciousness plays no appreciable part. Further, while I have used the terms "conclusions" and "conceptions," it must not be supposed that these conclusions and conceptions are formulated in words. The feelings—the emotional side of knowledge—are always uppermost. As someone has said, "In its inner nature belief is a sort of feeling more allied to the emotions than to anything else." Finally, while every child possesses his own world philosophy, it is a philosophy expressed not in feelings only but also in action. Professor Royce, in his *Outlines of Psychology*, has explained the intimate relation between actions and general ideas so clearly, that it is best to use his own words :—

"Whoever has a general idea of a class of things, is able to show you that he has a correct general idea only in so far as this idea expresses itself in fitting acts. Whoever believes himself to have a correct general idea of a tiger, merely because he has an image of a tiger, has only to ask himself whether his general idea of a tiger is such as to permit him to believe that when you meet a tiger you pat him on the head and ask him to give you his paw, in order to see that his image of a tiger possesses what Professor James has so skilfully called a 'fringe'—a fringe which at once excludes any such disposition to deal with a tiger as one does with a pet dog. . . . If one's confidence that one's general idea is a good one is well founded, and if one then allows one's general idea of the object in question to become explicit and fully developed

instead of remaining a mere fragmentary image or word-memory, then one discovers that the whole general idea involves what one may as well call 'a plan of action,' that is, a way of behaviour which is fitting to characterise and portray an object of the class in question."

Whether it is true that all general notions involve a plan of action, it is certainly the case with the general ideas of a child. His plan of action is his general idea. We have therefore to ask what is the plan of action that suggests itself to the child as a fitting way to meet the assaults either of an urban or of a rural environment.

Within the walls of a town, where the human element reigns supreme and where everything suggests man and the work of man, people come to believe that man made everything, including himself, and that no one else had a hand in the job. Wherever we turn, this single truth—man's omnipresence, one might almost say man's omnipotence—is driven home with an emphasis and a reiterated force which sweep aside all opposition. The whole outline and the contents of the town speak of man and sing the refrain of man in an unending melody and with an undying monotony. Whether it be the houses, the schools, the churches, the factories, the streets, the trains or the trams, which catch the attention, all bear upon them, in unmistakable characters, the signature of human action and the impress of human contrivance. But in the village, with its frame of field and wood, we are driven to confess the presence of many objects which owe their existence to some *thing* or some *power* other than man. Man may indeed have drawn a few faint and blurred pictures on the

landscape, but the landscape itself and most of the details bear witness to the creative energy of some non-human agency.

What is true of town and village, regarded as a finished picture, is no less true of the process which has resulted in the colouring and the arrangement of the scene. In a town any piece of work, whether in course of design or execution, appears to depend for its successful completion on the energy of man and man alone. It is doubtless a fact that his share in the manufacture of any article consists only in the putting of things into different places, while natural forces attend to the remainder of the business. But this truth is not revealed to the mind of the casual observer. The work, for all he sees to the contrary, goes on without requiring any definite recognition of mysterious powers. The mode of operation of these natural forces is so constant that, as entities, they are practically ignored. The only element of uncertainty is to be sought in the factor of human skill, and, if that be present, the final goal is sure of attainment. We do not, for example, get a good crop of tram-lines in a favourable season, or a weedy and thin harvest of rails when the atmospheric conditions are less benignant. A brewer may determine to turn out a thousand barrels of beer a week and he does it; the result depends on him. But the farmer may resolve to grow in his fields ten sacks of barley to the acre, in order to supply the raw material for the brewing of the beer. But he has no guarantee that success will crown his labours, be they never so skilfully directed; the result depends only in part on his own efforts, and more largely on con-

ditions over which he has no control whatsoever. Dry weather when the young corn shoots, or rain during harvesting operations, may baffle the most ingenious husbandry. A single thunderstorm can ruin his hopes and rob him of his expected reward.

It is, of course, true that a large portion of the economy of a village is not marked by the element of uncertainty; but in a town practically the whole of the operations belongs to that class, where results can be foreseen and where any variable factor is the variable factor of man himself. In short, within a city, man both proposes and disposes; it is only in the village that some non-human power has the final word to say on the matter. Every year a hundred object-lessons teach the child of the country that Nature stands above him as his master, ruling him with laws he can but half understand, and impressing on his life the sign-mark of an often arbitrary and usually unpredictable will.

But this statement of fact does not exhaust the whole significance of the problem. The inhabitant of the village not only recognises that the ways of this power, lying behind phenomena, are not in general amenable to prediction, but he is also driven to confess that the results of its activity are unlimited in extent. The roar of the storm and the sweep of the wind are obvious examples of this truth; but there are other instances which can boast a far wider application. Nature has a dislike for sharply-defined boundaries and rarely reveals to the eye more than a portion of an object. A tree buries wide-spreading roots in the ground; streams merge in rivers, and rivers in the sea, and

the ocean girdles the globe; hills fade away from the sight into the distance without suggesting any distinct termination; and the white road, that winds through the village street, leads to the world's end; while the horizon limits only itself and assumes the appearance of some moving curtain which rolls away with every step taken and uncovers new fragments of an infinite beyond that lies outside. "What," says someone, "all childish fancy has in common is the idea of a wholly new and unheard-of world behind the remote horizon, behind woods, lakes and fields, and all objects reached by the eye."

The consciousness that he stands in the presence of a power, whose manifestations transcend measure and whose ways are past searching out, convinces man of his own helplessness, awakening the incipient feeling of awe, or, to use the language of religion, the fear of the Lord.

If, however, nature were no more to man than a gigantic and irrational force, he would be left a poor slave cringing in impotence at the feet of a perhaps malignant tyrant. But subject as he is to an all-powerful master, that master clearly exhibits some regard for his well-being. He sees the means of his daily subsistence spread out before him; he watches the water for his drinking as it gathers on the hillside and flows into the streams. The food he eats ripens in the fields, and the fuel he burns is maturing in the woods. In a real sense nature is his and for him; he may be helpless but he is not unimportant; the adaptation of nature to his needs is to him the pledge of his own intrinsic value.

This lesson of man's importance receives additional emphasis from another fact of common

observation. While it is true that on the good pleasure of Nature depends the success of his operations, the work, when accomplished, whether in the garden he tends, the field he tills, or the tree he fells, appears in concrete shape as the embodiment of his own energy. There is something rich and abiding in the fruits of his toil; something of which he can say with pride: "This is the work of my hands."

This revelation of a power which deigns to minister to his needs and this consciousness of his own individual creative energy raise what was before fear to the dignity of reverence. In that sentiment two elements must find a place; man must feel that he stands in the presence of one who is raised high above himself, but he must feel likewise that he is bringing with him an offering of priceless worth—the offering of himself. The essence of true humility, as distinguished from the cringing subservience of a slave, lies in a deep-rooted sense of personal value. Reverence then emerges as the most developed product of the influence of nature. This is the lesson which the environment of a village can drive home, but which the conditions of a town fail to render even faintly intelligible.

It is perhaps true that those who make diligent search will find, even within the boundaries of a city, traces of that mysterious and unlimited power which is clearly revealed throughout the country-side. But the common man's casual examination of a town leaves him with the impression of a something cut up into sharply defined sections. One house leans comfortably for support against

the next; one street ends abruptly where another begins. Barriers of brick confine the view on either side; a man looks into his neighbour's window, or observes his washing, as it hangs in the backyard, and sees no further. All is smoothly rounded off and left finished, smeared over with the veneer of the petty and the insignificant. We feel that everything might be done up separately in separate brown-paper parcels and taken home under the arm without leaving any loose ends or straggling tags hanging out behind. To see in such an environment the witness of any vast and unfathomable power passes the wit of man.

Further, while it is true that the town is the work of *men*, it is not the work of *man*. It is the expression of abstract human labour and fails to expose the personal element. The ordinary labourer, whether in the workshop or on the scaffold, is unable to identify any fraction of the whole as the concrete realisation of his own individual toil. He is a single tooth on a single wheel of a vast machine which drearily drones out its course through the long hours of the day.

Nor does he fare much better when, indulging in introspection, he turns his eyes inward on himself. In man the child sees nothing calculated to fill him with wonder or even surprise. He discerns there no "curtained spaces," no hidden and darkened corners, and no vaguely defined boundaries, such as might excite a feeling of awe. He knows only himself immediately; and it is by himself that he measures the universe; external objects do not become intelligible until converted into terms of man. The perception of the mystery, that lies

behind and is revealed through the veil of human flesh, appears late both in the history of thought and in the development of the child. Thus it comes to pass that man shares the fate of other well-known objects; they are charged to the brim with mystic import, but our eyes are so grown to the familiar outlines, the well-worn and conventional details, that we can see in them nothing but the trivial, the superficial and the commonplace.

The human element, therefore, fails to awaken any sentiment of awe and reverence; while another fact, peculiar to the developed disposition of an urban environment, serves to heighten the effect of this uninspiring familiarity with man and his doings, and clinches the lesson. A town resembles one of those old-fashioned patchwork quilts, which are formed out of squares of diverse fabrics sewn together side by side. But each square is uniform in colour and texture, and comes in contact with other colours and other textures only at the extreme edges. Seen from a distance it presents a pleasing effect of blended harmonies, but looked at from near at hand only a single square catches the attention, and monotony takes the place of variegated hues. In some such way throughout a city the various classes of the community are gathered in distinct quarters, carefully fenced off from one another. Here we have a patch of the very wealthy, ostentatious in its display of gold and silver tinsel; there the more subdued splendours of silk and satin, distinguishing the comfortably rich, catches the attention. At one spot we encounter a square woven out of the somewhat sombre, though eminently serviceable,

linsey-woolsey of the middle classes; at another a wide and weary wilderness of corduroy and flannelette indicates the abode of the working classes. But satin will not wed with flannelette, and linsey-woolsey clashes viciously with both.

There has then been at work within the walls of a city some sort of sifting machine which has assiduously picked out aggregations of like units and assigned to them distinct places of habitation. Each group has developed characteristics of its own, and, while variety pervades the whole, the different parts are so closely allied that each leaves on the mind a picture of an unchanging colour and an ineradicable monotony. The people, among whom the child's lot is cast, belong, with comparatively few exceptions, to the same social station. They inhabit similar houses, walk the same streets, talk the same tongue and are caught in the same routine of daily work. One home and its economy are the replica of the next; and the child sees in the affairs of his own particular household the generic type to which the many households conform. No mystery hedges the life of another; the wares of existence are spread out in the open market-place, and upon all alike falls the stupefying dust of uniformity. Where there is no variation of persons there can be no variation in the treatment of persons; in other words, in such an environment, neither respect nor reverence can flourish; for these are tender plants and wither in the fierce heat of familiarity.

But in the village, where all classes are gathered in one small spot, we have variation, and, as its fruits, a developed and definite code of manners

symbolic of corresponding sentiment. To the child of the cottager, for example, the life of the manor house appears charged with mystery, as having so few points of resemblance with his own. The squire is regarded with a feeling of wonder, near akin to reverence—a feeling which finds expression in the touching of the hat and in the performance of other ceremonies intended to indicate respect. It is true that this relation is of a one-sided character and exhibits little critical discernment; but the very fact of its existence is a matter of some importance.

All this discussion may seem trivial, tedious and perhaps not a little ridiculous; but it is out of such unpretentious material that the more imposing elements of our character are constructed. As a matter of fact this natural and instructive display of reverence for another is a factor whose value cannot be over-estimated in the education of a child. It is hardly necessary to say that there is here no desire to assert the innate superiority of one class over another; but it is essential to recognise that a dead uniformity of excellence is no part of the heritage of the human race. One man, like one star, differs from another in the glory of its brightness, and should receive at our hands treatment commensurate with his order of distinction. The progress of civilisation rests, in the main, on our ability to select merit and, when selected, to pay to it a due measure of deference; and in these days of a surgent democracy never was there a lesson that needed teaching more. For there is planted in man an instinct of stubborn egotism which revolts at the mere thought of admitting that another is superior

in any marked degree to himself. He is apt to deny the very possibility of such an occurrence. It is in the first instance a matter of comparatively small moment whether the object of admiration is worthy of the respect awarded; in short, it is better to worship a devil than not to worship at all. To admit the fact of superiority is the first and the hardest lesson to learn; to cultivate a proper discrimination is the second and the easier faculty to acquire. The environment of a village teaches the first though it neglects the second; the environment of a town ignores both, and neither sets up, nor pays homage to, any standard of merit.

In a town not only is man a common thing, without qualities to excite wonder, he is also man's rival. He can be fought, and may be conquered. He possesses much that we covet for ourselves; he gathers to himself many treasures that we might otherwise make our own. He creates and stimulates a spirit of emulation, and tends to encourage a noisy and vigorous feeling of competition which not infrequently sows the seed of active strife. Thus again the antithesis of the human and the nature element comes to the front. We cannot look on Nature as our rival; we endeavour to enlist her services as a benignant and powerful ally. We are moved by no personal desire to set ourselves in opposition to her ways, however strongly they may excite our disapprobation. In her presence strife and anger are lulled to rest; we can only understand a King Lear raging against the unkindly attack of the elements by regarding him as bereft of his senses; and we should not hesitate to dub

insane any man who challenged combat with the force of gravity by leaping over the Tower Bridge, or who, as a protest against the harsh onslaught of the winter, walked naked and barefoot through the snow.

Man, however, whether child or adult, tends to rouse the joy of battle, and to stir that thrill of excitement and emulation, which finds its abode in the rivalry of conflicting claims. This is no doubt true whether a man's home lies amid urban or rural scenes, but in the town alone is the effect exhibited in a form of unmodified severity. For the country stands out pre-eminently as the natural playground of the child. In the fields and woods there is room and to spare for all; packing, crowding, jostling and confusion, the fruitful parents of quarrels, are features rare in their appearance and easy to avoid. The flowers and grasses and berries, the denizens of stream and meadow, supply a store of playthings abundant to satisfy all rational desire and all reasonable numbers. The happiness of one is not purchased at the price of the unhappiness of another, and the success of some does not entail the failure of the remainder.

In a town no such region of generous plenty can be discovered. Playthings and even the space for games are so limited in quantity that the enjoyment of the few restricts, if it does not destroy, the enjoyment of the many. In the parks a dozen games of cricket are carried on side by side within an area barely sufficient for one. In the streets crowds of children, hustled together into a noisy throng, render impossible all chance of unimpeded pleasure; a football descends, like a bombshell, on a group of girls intent on the thrilling amusement

of hop-scotch, and tiresome pedestrians ruthlessly break into the most exciting skipping exhibition; a swarm of maidens quarrel for the possession of a rope that has fallen from a cart; and a hundred boys assiduously angle for some solitary fish, as it swims uneasily in the oleaginous waters of the canal. In the homes no one wants to do the same things, and every one wants his own way; a sister eagerly devouring a fairy-tale is given no peace by a brother who is anxious to play dominoes; just at the critical moment of the struggle the grimy arm of one of the younger children sweeps the men off the draught-board and brings the contest to an unexpected termination. The objects of dear desire are few and the competitors innumerable; rivalry and dissension are the fruit. Pleasure lies almost altogether in anticipation or in retrospection; the happiness of the moment is marred by the discordant element of the noise, bred of numbers; and realisation issues in nothing better than the display of vocal excitement and the exhibition of unrestrained passions.

But even in the heart of this whirlpool of emulation and unrest another feeling is developed under the stress of the human element—a feeling which modifies and may occasionally reverse the final result of that influence. Man is indeed not infrequently an object of irritation to man, but he is at the same time a thing comprehended of man. His feelings are common property, his pains and pleasures are visible and intelligible to all. He may often be our rival, but he is always our brother, the fellow-pilgrim who, sometimes cheerily and sometimes despondent, now in suffering and now

in the joy of lusty health, trudges indifferent well with us down the great road of life. The consciousness of this common brotherhood, this communion in joy and in sorrow, are lessons which the town teaches with a more impressive effect than does the village.

In some strange wise, when man was muddled together in the making, the feelings of others in a real sense became mingled with his own. Whether he will or no, he cannot steel himself against the infection of another's happiness or resist the impulse to bear in some degree the weight of a neighbour's cross. But while this truth admits of no denial, he is rarely a person endowed with a highly developed faculty of imagination. The sorrow of others, if it is destined to awaken sympathy, must be visible to his eyes; it must knock loudly at his very doors. This is just what happens in the poorer quarters of a town. There is nothing hid from the sight of a neighbour; the whole drama, whether it issues in tragedy or in comedy, is played out in the view of all. Hence it comes to pass that, if we would pluck the finest blooms of charity, we must seek the flower where it flourishes best—in the sombre ghetto of a great city. Life has always its silent methods of redress, and hidden forces are everywhere at work to restore the troubled balance; and as compensation for the disordered and unnatural riot of the town, deepens the consciousness of a common brotherhood, broadens the sweep of a human sympathy.

We are drawing towards the close of our journey and need pause to consider but one more effect due to the power of the human element. It

is conspicuous only in large centres of population where crowds gather habitually, not indeed to fulfil any common purpose, but merely because the exigencies of space cause the people to congregate and condense on some single spot. The individual sees himself constantly caught up in the vortex of a mob where the whole, in place of the units, is the factor which attracts the attention. The result, that comes of the contact of man with man, has already been considered, and nothing need be added here, but no attempt has been made seriously to estimate the consequences which flow from the relations of man with men, regarded in their collective aspect. The subject has indeed more than once hovered on the margin of discourse and must now be awarded a central position. Ignoring then the chance interplay of units, we must consider what influence is to be ascribed to this concentrated essence of abstract human life. The current sets in two directions according as the one or the other of two forces is in the ascendant. First the individual loses his identity, which becomes merged in the vaster personality of the crowd; and next, while retaining his identity, he sees his self reduced to insignificance when compared with the myriad other selves scattered around.

First, then, man as an individual is merged and swallowed up in the larger life of the crowd. A crowd is something more than a mere aggregate of units; it is not a resultant of forces calculable according to the rules of mechanics; it possesses a character and personality of its own. Someone has termed a crowd a person without a conscience. No description could be more misleading; a crowd is

an individual indeed, but an individual with a conscience transformed and multiplied a thousandfold in strength, a conscience whose dictates admit of no resistance, and whose guiding leads irresistibly to some unknown though vaguely recognised end. A crowd, like H. G. Wells' "accelerator," increases the speed of thought, so that in a moment of time one lives a year of experience. There is a thrill of concentrated life, a species of hashish intoxication, in which the horizon of consciousness widens indefinitely, and is one with a kind of corporate existence. We are no longer human beings; we are become a giant and walk with head lifted above the clouds, free from the cramping restraints which hedge in the little lot of man.

Child and adult alike become subject to the compelling influence of this mysterious power. Like a man who has once seen a ghost, there is for him no falling back into the narrow rut of ordinary experience, no possibility of a return unchanged to the placid tenour of everyday existence. The effect on character is easily traced. Children who have acquired the habit of sharing the life of a crowd find the routine existence of the individual insipid and distasteful; they become more noisy and uncontrolled in their ways, less tolerant of any restraint, less capable of finding any zest in pleasures of tranquil enjoyment. The crowd-influence is one of the most potent factors in the environment of a town, and its effect has seldom been sufficiently recognised. It would seem to represent the accumulated force of the human element, displayed in its naked and unmodified form, concentrated on one spot, and making everywhere for unrest.

In the second place man may preserve his personal identity, but watch his individuality shrivel up into insignificance in the face of the countless human beings with whom he comes in contact. The child finds himself always one of a multitude. He is hurried to his school one of a thousand; in his playground about the streets he sees himself a frail unit, tossing helpless amid the eddies of a numberless crowd; in his tenement in the Block Dwelling he is lost in the measureless ocean of immeasurable lives. He is not only conscious of his weakness, but is driven to confess his utter unimportance in this world's economy. To talk to him of personal responsibility, to enlarge on the potent effect of his actions—this is to use words that have for him neither application nor coherent meaning. His handwriting in the book of the town is blotted out and rendered indecipherable ere the ink is dry; there is nothing left of it—not even a smear. Everything he does is swept away and is no more seen. If he bring back a few grimy treasures from a distant excursion, they are promptly discharged down the dust-shoot because there is no room for them in the meagre space of the home; if he strive to cultivate a small patch of flowers in the back-yard, the cat industriously digs them up during the hours of darkness; if he erect a glorious heap of stones and dust on the pavement, by the next morning he finds that his handiwork has been carted away by the assiduous road-cleaner; if he contrive unseen to dig a hole in the soil of one of the parks, it is only to discover on the morrow that everything has been levelled and smoothed away. Levelled and smoothed away—this is the expres-

sion that most aptly describes the end of all his work; it is as though it had never been.

These examples of what is here called the levelling tendency of a town may appear trivial and hardly worth quotation. But they are typical, and their importance lies in the cumulative effect of constant repetition. If we would fathom the mysteries of another's character, we must not search for the actions of high moment or for the decisions of tragic significance. In the drama of existence such occasions come seldom, and, when they do come, the humbler events of everyday life have already forestalled the issue of the struggle. It is amid the heaps of apparent rubbish and insignificant details that we must rummage if we would lay bare the hidden motives of another's conduct, or expose the real grounds of his beliefs. The very triviality of the instances, taken at random from the experience of a child and representing the common routine, is alone sufficient to justify and even to demand their mention.

Whether, therefore, it be for good or for ill, the influence of any individual appears a negligible factor in the transactions of the town. No definite or permanent effect follows in the train of conduct. Where all flows and nothing remains, where all changes and nothing abides, the child searches in vain for any materialised embodiment of his own actions. Hour by hour, day by day, year in year out, beats in upon him with remorseless persistence the lesson of his own utter insignificance in the multitudinous energy of a great city's life.

This consciousness, that all the effects of conduct perish still-born, brings with it, as a necessary consequence, the feeling that to look forward into

the future is labour wasted, to attempt to control its course mere vanity and vexation of spirit. The momentous need of the present, with its alluring glamour and its fleeting transience, fails to awaken that spirit which regards the now as the earnest of the not yet, the seed-time of day as the pledge of the harvest of to-morrow. Life lacks the elements of permanence, of significance, of idealistic imaginings. The aimless wandering of a child down the street is symbolic of his whole existence. He is dodging now this vehicle and now that; he is halting now to gather dusty treasures from a coster's barrow providentially upset, now to watch a herd of bullocks swept into the slaughterhouse; here he is pressing urgently into the heart of a drunken quarrel, there he is flying from some shopkeeper whose wrath his pleasing amenities have aroused; at one moment he is clambering up a lamp-post, at another he is pouring the vials of his contempt on a stranger whose innocent appearance suggests an impotence to harm; here walking, here running, here idling, now laughing, now crying, now shouting, he drifts in gentle aimlessness down the roadway. But in all this busy and exciting pilgrimage there is for him, unlike the ordinary passenger, no particular destination to be reached, no special street to be crossed, no definite task to be worked through, and no final goal of all desire to be attained.

(5.) *General Conclusions.*

The last paragraph not inaptly describes the child's "plan of action," involved in his general idea of the environment. The world is to him in

no way an unpleasant place in which to sojourn. It is overflowing with quaint and thrilling objects in process of restless change. It is the abode of the unexpected, where prizes come to him when least anticipated, and where nothing happens according to rule. It is a spot where the eager interest of the present hides the future, and where to-morrow may safely be left to look after itself in the serene confidence that it will likewise look after him. His actions and their consequences do not perplex him, since few things matter much and nothing matters long. The folk he meets are for the most part kind-hearted souls, prone indeed to rapid alternations of mood, but to be approached without fear, and to be treated with that genial familiarity which distinguishes the relations of equals. Pain he knows and experiences at times with all that overwhelming sense of spaciousness, which only children understand, but it passes and is forgotten. Pain he sees around him and with ready sympathy strives to alleviate, but, once removed from sight, he thinks no more of it. Excitement, rising in a moment to fever heat, is to him the salt of life, to be enjoyed with complete abandon, while the stimulus lasts, since it soon wanes and leaves behind a sense of vacancy. To acquire facile adaptability to the flickering changes of the environment, not to gaze back upon what has gone where there is nothing to cause either regret or joy, not to turn his eyes towards the mere emptiness of that which is to come, this is his plan of life embodying his general notion of the world.

The big and overlapping events of existence which stretch back into the past and extend into

the future, the beauties, the wonders, the mysteries, the idealisms, form no part of his plan of action; but he does not miss what he has never known. The spectator may note and regret the gaps in the child's experience which the environment of a town fails to fill; but they are gaps to him and not to the child. But this is another story and must receive attention when we are concerned with reform; it must not be interpolated into the child's general impression of the world he inhabits so as to represent him weeping warm tears over the loss of treasures which have never come to him even in dreams.

In spite of this warning, many readers will probably complain of a too lavish use of the more sombre colours in the picture of the town and will assert that, to produce a contrast effect, the sketch of the village has been flooded with a wash of rainbow hues. It is not unlikely that they will denounce a tendency to exalt the beneficent effect of Nature and to decry, with an almost malicious persistency, the baneful influence of the human element.

But to these charges the reply is easy. In this volume no sketch of the village or of the town has been attempted. I have been concerned only with the general environment and the general tendencies of its influence. All special conditions and modifying factors—the educational institutions, the municipal bodies, the religious and philanthropic associations—have been ignored. Certain forces have been isolated for study, and an effort has been made to estimate their effect, assuming that they alone occupied the field. They do certainly occupy the field and cannot fail to leave

signs of their presence, but they do not occupy it to the exclusion of all others.

There is in a town what may be called a natural environment, even though it be entirely the creation of man. The town, like Frankenstein's monster, has slipped from the control of its creator and developed automatic processes of growth and acquired a separate existence of its own. To determine the influence, in all its crude nakedness, upon the individual child exerted by this complex organism, this conglomerate of living souls set in a matrix of dead brickwork, has been the object of this chapter. How far man still retains control over this being, of which he is the author, and to what extent he may recover the control already lost, involve questions which must be left for later consideration.

The charge of having throughout exalted the nature element and depreciated the human element is equally without foundation. Its apparent justice is due to the one-sided view of affairs we have been compelled to take. We have been concerned with the problem of the town and not with the problem of the village. The human element has appeared in a not very favourable light, because it has always been represented in the almost monstrous forms it assumes within the walls of a city. The evil lies in the exaggerated influence it exerts, as the predominant factor of an urban environment, and not in the thing itself. On the other hand the nature element, just because of its absence, has throughout hovered on the margin as a sort of benignant fairy, willing, if called in, to repair the wrongs wrought by that malicious imp, the human element. But in any

sane and healthy system of training, the co-operation of both is required, and neither is sufficient by itself.

Had we been analysing the problem of the village, we should have seen cause to reverse, to a considerable extent, the lights and the shades of the picture. We should have had reason to deplore the excess of the nature element and to lament the deficiency of the human element. For the modern village, with its drift of the more intelligent to the towns, with its dreary aggregation of the stupid and the incompetent, with its decay of local feeling, with its lack of human sympathies and its narrow and parochial outlook, presents a spectacle little calculated to excite any strenuous enthusiasm. We need the energising stimulus of the human element, with the clash of wits, the sharpening of the intellect, the readiness of resource and the broadening of sympathies, which it alone can produce.

If the forces now busy at work in enlarging the towns and impoverishing the villages are permitted to continue their influence without control, we may indeed expect some day to see the world sharply divided into two portions. In the one the nature element, in the other the human element, will reign supreme. Then in the villages those few remaining inhabitants will be blind to the wide expanse of heaven and to all the visions that it sends, while in the town, men's eyes will indeed be open, but there will be no visions to see. To guard against this dismal consummation, to unite the lessons of those two schoolmasters to whom we owe our training, must be the final goal of all rational reform.

CHAPTER III

MAN AND ENVIRONMENT

(1) Individualism and Collectivism; (2) Voluntary *versus* State Enterprise; (3) Voluntary Enterprise as a Pioneer; (4) Voluntary Enterprise as a Personal Force; (5) The Resources of Social Reform.

LITTLE more than fifty years ago, the babe of modern civilisation was opening his eyes to the light. The most auspicious omens heralded his coming, promises of a golden future, rich beyond the imagination of a dream, hovered about his cradle. The fairy godmother of science, a female of benignant though somewhat austere countenance, showered her choicest gifts upon the infant. "You," she said, "as the latest born of the ages and the heir to all the accumulated treasures of the past, shall be the happiest and the most blessed among the generations of mankind. At my command the forces of nature shall do you homage and become the obedient servants of your will. I will harness the fire to your chariot and give you the lightning for your messenger. Machines of my devising shall toil in your stead and increase tenfold your command over the needs, the luxuries and the delights of existence. I will show you a cunning art to stem the ravages of diseases, to soothe the throb of pain, to rob death of his terrors and fill life with joy. Only follow my bidding, babe of my good pleasure, and you shall enter into possession of the fair heritage I have laboured to secure you."

Fifty years have gone by and civilisation looks at the travail of its soul and is not satisfied. Joyful anticipation has given place to painful doubt, doubt in turn to disillusionment, and disillusionment is hardening, under the stress of long years of bitter experience, into a state of grim and resigned despair. Only the narrowest and most prejudiced survey can be blind to the evils and the antinomies of modern life. Immeasurable tracts of wealth go cheek by jowl with wastes of immeasurable poverty. We have playgrounds where there are no longer children, and we have children where there are no longer playgrounds. We have proved the command of men over nature, but only to demonstrate the tyranny of man over men. The universe is like a table spread with the choicest dishes, but the bidden guests are surfeited and dyspeptic and cannot eat, and the unbidden guests sit forlorn and hungry on the doorstep and may not eat.

We look in vain for the realisation of those roseate dreams of earlier days. The aggregate mass of patient endurance, of active suffering, of broken lives, gathered within the poorer quarters of any large town and visible to the most casual observer, sours the faith of the optimist and turns to mockery the earlier tidings of good hope.

Hitherto, in discussing causes and factors of change, we have regarded man as held fast in the grip of external conditions and seen him, the mere plaything of his surroundings, acquiescent rather than rebellious. Such is the picture of environment and man. But there is another picture in which the relations are transposed—the picture of man and environment. Here man is no longer

submissive; he is become resistant and struggles against the stress of circumstance, pitting his strength against the strength of his surroundings. What hope has he in the fight, and how best can he marshal his forces for the contest? This is the problem which faces the student of man and environment.

If we pass from the effects of environment and address ourselves to the task of ascertaining the cause of those forces which we have already found fruitful in evil, for a time, at any rate, we can avoid controversy and may hope to secure unanimous accord. We collectively are the cause; we collectively have builded this Babylon of the modern world; and if it is builded ill, we collectively, as its builders, are to blame. Civilisation is essentially an artificial product, it is the work of man; and if its fruits taste bitter in the mouth, there is no reason to go far afield in the search of causes more remote or more mysterious than man himself.

But if man has gone astray in the past, it is also possible that he may in the future retrace his steps. The task may be hard, but no one, save some dreary pessimist, would affirm that it was impossible. If man can do wrong he can likewise do right. However discontented, then, we may be with the present, we may justly cherish the hope that it is for us to choose whether the life of the new generation shall be fairer in its promise and richer in its measure of attainment than has been the case during earlier ages.

If we attempt to take one further step and inquire in what particular direction we have erred, there can still be little doubt of the true answer.

We have created a civilisation, without effectively realising the significance of the change in human relations we have called into being. In those happy times of innocent freedom when we painted ourselves blue and ran naked in the woods, the doings of our neighbours concerned us little. Apart from acts of personal violence, their conduct was a matter of entire indifference. Neighbours were few and there was room for all; each, therefore, might go his own way in blissful independence. But now that these woodland days are over and men are packed by hundreds and by thousands, in horizontal and vertical strata, within the confining walls of cities, the age of irresponsible freedom is gone. Our neighbours' conduct looms immeasurably large in the estimation of our daily lives; and hitherto we have done little to control, and for the most part have been content to ignore, the destructive effect of this unfettered liberty.

Whether we examine the relations of capital to labour, of landlord to tenant, of the occupant of one house to his next-door neighbour, everywhere the same lesson is driven home with a force of reiteration which admits of no denial. Each person goes his own way, and claims to go his own way without let or hindrance. The fundamental fault of civilisation lies in this persistent attempt to combine the conditions of modern life with the unregulated freedom of the woodland days.

If this unregulated freedom is the cause of the evil, no elaborate analysis of the situation is required to indicate the direction in which lies the only possible remedy. Whether it be the collective control of the community, the friendly influence of

neighbour upon neighbour, or self-restraint on the part of the individual, some check must limit the liberty of each to do what he likes, regardless of the consequences which follow.

How to secure the due consideration of all for each and of each for all, this is the problem which cries for an answer. We have indeed, these many years, been tentatively feeling for a solution. The way of experience is not barren of results; and pioneering work has long been in active operation. Before, therefore, entering the field of constructive suggestion, it is necessary to make a survey of the value and the number of forces already at the disposal of the reformer.

Broadly speaking, these forces of change may be divided into two classes. On the one side there is the influence of collective action, centralised in the State; on the other there is the power of individual enterprise. By some curious misadventure a sort of rivalry or competition is usually supposed to exist between the two; and the advocates of the one are apt to attack acrimoniously the advocates of the other. It is labour wasted to suggest methods of reform without arriving at some preliminary understanding. The reader will otherwise regard with disfavour, or even with active hostility, any proposal which does not fall within the limits he has himself set up. It is desirable therefore to consider at the outset the part played by these two agencies, and, if possible, to assign to each a definite sphere of influence. Needless to say we are entering upon the old-time controversy between individualism and collectivism.'

(1.) *Individualism and Collectivism.*

In those good old times when the fights of the religious bodies, instead of, as at present, being concerned in the main with the accidental and the unimportant, reached down to the very heart of life, the Christian Church was perturbed by the presence of a perplexing and animated controversy. The question at issue turned on the problem whether or no man could attain a state of perfection without the initial assistance of some external power. The two sides were admirably represented—the one by Pelagius and the other by the famous St Augustine.

Pelagius maintained that the various sins, which ruffled the placid sea of primitive perfection, could be dealt with piecemeal and conquered one by one. When a man had overcome the last of his failings he had, by his own unaided efforts, gained the haven of secure salvation.

To this claim the Saint responded with an emphatic negative. The individual sins, he urged, did not possess the importance attributed to them by Pelagius; they were merely the visible effects of a secret and underlying evil. Man's heart resembled a closed cauldron, whose contents were in a condition of seething and fermenting putrescence. From the cracks in the lid emerged sundry foul-smelling vapours; these vapours represented the individual sins. To solder up these crevices and do nothing more, as Pelagius suggested, was obviously useless. Till the cauldron itself was cleansed by the purging of its contents, all such palliative measures served only to make matters

worse by concealing the source of the evil, and by thus allowing it to work out its wicked will in secret. The heart itself must be changed, and grace alone could perform so arduous a task. In other words, it was necessary for man to appeal for assistance to some external power. In the long run the Christian Church set the seal of its final approval on the teaching of the Saint.

Now in these modern days this thousand-year-old quarrel has once again, in a slightly different form, sprung into lively existence. For the individual man put the poor of our cities; for the external power of grace put the power of State enterprise; for the contents of the cauldron put that massed accumulation of foul and degrading conditions to be found in parts of every town: and we have the ancient controversy respecting grace in its new and modern dress, the conflict between individualism and collectivism.

Is the pitiable lot of the inhabitant of the ghetto entirely the fruit of his own misconduct, or is it due, in part at any rate, to the conditions under which he dwells? Can he, while the general environment remains unaltered, raise himself, of his own strength, to a higher and a fuller life; or must the State step in first and transform the environment? Of all questions that perplex the social reformer this is the most fundamental. Some answer he must give, and the answer once given will rule all his future conduct.

Is man to be left to himself; is he to be exposed to the unmodified influence of competition and *laissez-faire?* A few thoroughly consistent writers, like Herbert Spencer, have replied in the affirma-

tive. But the majority of those, hostile to State interference, have never been able to exhibit in practice that thorough-going hostility they are ready to profess in theory. The most persistent assertion of bed-rock principles has rarely been able to check the promptings of human sympathy and ignore the mute pleadings of the helpless. The prejudice of the man has been too strong for the prejudice of the philosopher. In consequence these persons cannot quite persuade themselves that the Education Acts were a portentous blunder, that the Building Laws aggravated the evil they were designed to cure, or that Factory Legislation constituted a monumental crime. Distrustful as they are of the hand of Government, they are driven to admit that, under certain conditions, the State must enter the lists and do battle with the environment.

But the admission, while it testifies to the warmth of their hearts, is fatal to their position as logical philosophers. Once admit that there are occasions when the State may with advantage interfere, and the question is removed from the bleak tableland of inflexible principles and brought down into the sun-streaked valley of expediency. We no longer argue whether State action is ever beneficial; we merely inquire whether it is advisable in this or that particular case. The appeal is made not to fundamental laws of human nature, but to experience and to practice. To advocate collective enterprise does not involve approval of all that the State has done in the past. We may admit, for example, the break-down of the Poor Law, or the ostentatious extravagance of sundry municipalities. But individual failure does not entail universal con-

demnation. The State must learn by experience the limits which circumscribe the sphere of its beneficent influence.

But while withdrawing with a somewhat unwilling reluctance from the position of consistent opposition, the individualist has assumed a watchful attitude of qualified hostility. Gathering together the tattered rags of his principles, through which blows bleakly the blustering east wind of facts, he dilates on the comparative helplessness and general incompetence of the State. True, it can perform, indifferent well, a few services; but beneficial results are rare and disasters frequent; and for the rest, the wise man will view with apprehension any attempted extension of its sphere of action.

A few physical evils the State can remove, but in the domain of character its incompetence is glaringly obvious; and even where the material needs of man are concerned, its action, while always costly, often fails to produce, in the long run, any tangible result. You cannot, it is argued, raise a man to a higher level of life by merely lifting him up to it; he must first prove his fitness to enjoy the advantages of the new position. To offer him privileges he has not learned to value will only lead to their abuse, and profits him not at all. Or, to come to a concrete case, if you place in a new dwelling a tenant accustomed to live in a slum tenement, he will rapidly reproduce there that atmosphere of dirt and squalor to which he has been accustomed.

This is, of course, the old argument that if you put a pig into a drawing-room, the pig will convert the drawing-room into a stye. It is curious

that men have failed to see the glaring fallacy involved. The pig, as experienced farmers know, is a much maligned animal; he has not that innate love of dirt usually imputed to him. Nature never intended him to be penned in the narrow confinement of a stye; she fashioned him to roam at large in the wide freedom of the fields and woods. We put him in a place where filth is inevitable, and then blame him for the consequences of our own action.

In a similar way man was not made to be massed together in sunless and overcrowded homes, where dirt itself is invisible and where the vital energy, required to transform the environment, finds no nutriment in the stagnant and polluted air. Give him a more spacious dwelling, clean and well-lit; he will probably not make of it a paradise of order, but he will at least have the opportunity of doing what was before impossible; and not all will fail in the endeavour.

This example, selected from the province of the housing problem, is typical in character, and the method of treatment advocated admits of wide application. In other words, if you are anxious to eradicate a habit, which is fostered by the environment, change the environment or alter the conditions in such a direction as will encourage the growth of a counter habit. Now, habit is not born of exhortation, be the preacher never so worthy or his arguments never so cogent: it is essentially the child of repeated practice. This being the case, we can easily understand that, if by any means we can induce a man to act in the way we desire, we may be able to secure the fixation of the all-to-be-wished-for habits which, when once acquired, will without

further interference on our part give to his conduct that uniformity we wish to obtain.

In a very similar manner, to give a man what he does not appreciate is often the best means of encouraging that appreciation. One of the principal difficulties, which perplexes the reformer, lies in the task of creating new needs and new interests. Progress depends on our ability to raise the standard of life; and by deliberately forcing a man up a rung in the ladder, we may render him acutely conscious of the advantages of his superior position and stubbornly opposed to any return to the former level. It should at least be clear that we shall never teach him to enjoy the higher pleasures of existence and to sacrifice the higher for the lower, unless we begin by teaching him that there is a higher pleasure to be enjoyed; and to learn this lesson he must first taste of the pleasure. To sit down in idleness and wait for a demand, as many would have us do, is to eat out our soul in a long-drawn spasm of ineffective patience. We might as soon hope to encourage a love of tomatoes by depriving people of all reasonable chance of tasting that succulent vegetable. To be without a thing is not the same as to be painfully conscious of a palpitating vacancy in our surroundings, and a mere absence, which is not felt, is no stimulus to action.

In some instances the law of supply and demand must be inverted and the supply must precede the demand; while in other cases, as, for example, in compulsory education, the supply must be forced on the nation. A task of such magnitude can only be undertaken by a body which wields the authority of the Government. Where an environment requires

transformation, the broad and far-reaching arm of the State is singularly effective. The minute energy, however benignant in intention, of individual enterprise, fails to produce any visible result. As Mill has said, a small change in social relations does not make a small difference—it makes no difference at all.

But the individualist is nothing if not persistent. He clings to the banner of his convictions with all the tenacious resolution of the religious enthusiast. However hard pressed, he is confident that he possesses one secure cavern of retreat, where his position is unassailable. Safely ensconced there, he rehearses the creed that character cannot be changed at the bidding of Government, nor men made virtuous by Act of Parliament, nay, nor even by ukase of Mayor and Borough Council sitting in solemn conclave.

Now, whether there is any truth or not in this claim depends entirely upon the meaning of the word. What is implied by the expression "making a man virtuous"? If it signifies the process of giving a man "a new heart," then undoubtedly the State is powerless to perform this arduous task; and so, one shrewdly suspects, is every other human agency, including the man himself. If, however, no more is intended than the assertion that the State cannot make virtue more attractive and vice more unpleasant, then the assertion is flagrantly false. For if it were true, we should be driven to confess that our elaborate penal code, which strives to render thieving dangerous and the ways of honesty smooth, secures no other beneficial result than the temporary removal of a few detected criminals. But it is clear that the object of the criminal law is

to encourage a habit of virtue and to discourage a habit of vice. Now a man with a habit of virtue, if not actually virtuous, is at least moving in the right direction, just as a man with a habit of vice, if not actually vicious, is at any rate on the road that leads to destruction. In this sense, therefore, we must allow that a man can be made virtuous by Act of Parliament. John Smith, labourer, when he sees his mate led to the scaffold for throwing his garrulous wife headforemost from the upstair window, will say not merely "There, but for the grace of God," but will add, "There but for the fear of the law goes John Smith."

But the State can do more than play the policeman; its beneficent influence on character can easily be extended till it covers the humblest details of domestic life. Take a concrete case; intentionally an extravagant example is selected. Let me assume, as is probably true, that I am a person of indolent habits. I dwell in a fifth-storey flat, unprovided with a lift. Late in the evening I recollect an important letter that should be posted in order to catch the midnight mail. Had there been only four flights of steps separating my tenement from the ground floor, my moral sense of duty would have been strong enough to drive me to essay the weary descent; but the fifth flight is beyond the limits of my virtue, and the letter remains unposted. But the ethical teacher will say that the matter does not end here. I have failed to perform a duty; on the next occasion my will must be weaker for the previous failure and may perhaps be unable to manage three flights, till in the end, if the pillar-box stood outside my

door, I should not possess the energy to rise from my arm-chair and post the letter. But now let us suppose that a benignant Government, viewing with horror the possibility of this rapid deterioration of character, were to erect, side by side with the dust-shoot, a tube down which letters could be discharged. My letter would be posted and my moral character preserved intact.

This example will be found typical of life in general. There is nothing mystical or supernatural about virtue. Psychology has long since laid down the conditions by which alone the desired goal may be reached. We do not attain perfection in one long sustained and easy flight; it is, at best, a scrambling process. The performance of every duty demands an effort; at each moment of his life a man is capable of some effort but not of all effort. The degree of effort of which he is capable depends on his previous history. A duty carried through triumphantly, because it is within the limits of his powers, is a source of additional strength; the consciousness of a past victory brings with it a feeling of self-confidence when next the hour of struggle comes round. Every success in the present is an earnest of a greater success in the future, every failure to-day a sinister omen of more disastrous failure to-morrow.

There is no more noxious fallacy than that which lies hid in the assumption that the dreary drudgery which distinguishes the existence of the poor is, in some strange fashion, the best school of virtue. It is on a level with those old-fashioned notions which asserted that a child's body is rendered

hardy by submitting him to hardships. In each case the result is the same. The few signal successes are noted, and the remainder, remorselessly trodden under foot, fail to attract attention. Let the State render existence easier by clearing away the thick undergrowth of thorns which make the road of virtue painful to tread, and it will create a people whose capacity for effort will astonish even the individualist. Doubtless, the luxury of the idle rich is the parent of a delicate effeminacy, but there is a long way, yet to be travelled, between life in the palace and life in the ghetto. And it will be time to appeal, on behalf of all, for the strenuous life, when one has no longer to appeal, on behalf of the many, for the bare necessities of existence.

Let us return to the quarrel between Augustine and Pelagius. Augustine stands for collectivism, Pelagius for individualism, and, as in days gone by, so now the verdict of the future will be with the Saint. The environment is too powerful for the individual to combat single-handed; he needs the strong arm of the State to lift him up from the abyss where he is held in unresistant helplessness. The policy of inaction is the policy of suicide; we shall never fetch the desired haven of prosperity in a bark of prohibitions floating jauntily on a sea of negations.

(2.) *Voluntary* versus *State Enterprise.*

But even the most pronounced individualist has rarely urged that the only solution of the social problem is to be found in a policy of inaction, adopted with the view of giving free play to the

forces of natural selection. Hostile as he may be to State enterprise, he has usually an alternative remedy of his own to suggest. He enlarges on the beneficent effects of a wise and reasoned philanthropy. He waxes eloquent over the vast sums subscribed for charitable purposes, and points to the energies of the many religious bodies, with their army of ministers, nurses, and district visitors. Organise these on sound lines and avoid indiscriminate almsgiving, and men will have at their disposal funds and workers capable of rooting out all the evils to which flesh is heir. Put charity on a proper basis and all will go merry as a marriage-bell.

Charity is twice blessed, and blesses him that gives and him that takes; State enterprise is twice cursed; the givers, in the shape of the ratepayers, blaspheme, and the recipients are pauperised. Charity is personal, State enterprise impersonal. The former is more flexible than the latter, more rapid in its action, less hedged in with vexatious regulations, and less expensive in the demands it makes on the purse. Man has not been cast in a single mould; every life has its own peculiar comedy, its own distinctive tragedy. Men cannot therefore be handled in masses; evils cannot be removed wholesale; each case must be dealt with on its own merits, and the remedy thoughtfully adapted to the particular disease. Salvage work of this kind is too delicate to be entrusted to the uncouth blundering of the State. Further, not only does the State fail to solve the problem, it is itself an actual obstacle in the way of others reaching the solution. It dries up the supplies and impairs the resources of voluntary initiative.

When the State comes in, Charity stalks out in dudgeon. Men will not pay rates and provide subscriptions for one and the same object.

The staunch defenders of the State have never been slow to reply to this attack. They have indicated the magnitude of the evil and pointed out the limited resources of charity. The State is like the regular army, presumably effective; charity is like the volunteers, notoriously inefficient. They have laid stress on the favouritism involved, the habits of cringing and fawning subservience encouraged, and have represented these defects as characteristics inseparably associated with charitable operations. They have made indignant protest against staking the welfare of the people on the results of a jumble sale, the proceeds of a drawing-room meeting, or the outcome of the sugary eloquence of a fashionable duchess. And they have usually proceeded to deliver a frontal attack on Charity and all her ways. She is herself the evil, a sharp-featured hag masquerading as a beneficent fairy, a world-weary debauchee seeking some novel pleasure amid the troubles of the ghetto, or a cunning financier striving to forestall the uncomfortable settling-day of the other world. Thus the struggle between individualist and collectivist in its new shape becomes the struggle between the respective advocates of Voluntary and State enterprise.

In the face of these conflicting views, what attitude must the reasonable man assume? Must he allow that when Charity has opened up the ground, she has thereby acquired for herself a sort of vested interest, entitling her summarily to eject

any trespasser like the State? Or, on the other hand, must he, when occasion offers, seek to baffle and render of no effect the work of the voluntary agencies? Now, as a matter of fact, he need not adopt either of these invidious and drastic alternatives. In any healthily-organised community the co-operation of State and Voluntary enterprise is not only possible, but under existing circumstances essential, if the desired end is to be secured. There need be no scrambling or unseemly quarrel respecting disputed territories; the line of division is clear cut, and no difficulties attend the task of assigning to each its proper sphere of influence.

(3.) *Voluntary Enterprise as a Pioneer.*

In the first place, the work of voluntary enterprise is essentially of an experimental or pioneering character. The field of charity is the happy hunting-ground of the faddist and the enthusiast. He is blessed with just that degree of enterprise, confidence and flexibility required in making new ventures. He is bound by no rules; he can start on a small and unobtrusive scale; and if failure is the result, there is no casting about on the part of the general public for someone to blame.

These auspicious conditions are unfortunately not associated with the operations of a directly-elected body. In spite of numerous charges to the contrary, the inertia to be overcome before a municipal council will make a fresh departure is almost incredible in its immobile ponderosity. Instead of being attacked for their foolhardy temerity, they ought to be censured for their timorous lack of initiative. Anything in the

nature of an experiment, to be regarded as such and to be judged solely by the results, is almost beyond the range of practical politics. The new departure is sure to jar on the tender principles of certain members, who will condemn it from the outset and are prepared to demonstrate, whatever the sequel, its disastrous failure. On the other hand, those who secured its adoption will, in self-defence, be driven at all costs to assert its entire success. If they do otherwise and frankly admit a miscarriage, the electors will talk angrily about the waste of money frittered away in futile experiments or in undertakings which have not already been proved to be beneficial. The dice must be heavily loaded to secure doubles, or the game will not be played.

The private individual has none of these difficulties to fear. A happy method of ridding the world of some glaring evil suggests itself to his fertile brain. His eloquence convinces a few friends of the possibility of success; and together they collect the money necessary to make a start. If the enterprise fail, there is an end of the whole matter; if it justify the roseate anticipations, attention is drawn to the scheme, and funds come in to admit of its further development. But there is a limit imposed on growth in this direction, a limit usually proportionate to the interest excited. The wealthy, who give their support, have many hobbies, and distribute their superfluous income among sundry good works. They cannot increase their donations indefinitely in one direction without being compelled to practise a corresponding economy in another. The charitable ventures are, so to speak, put up to

auction; ingenious advertisement and smooth-tongued eloquence can advance the price of one class of goods, but only on condition that lower bids are made for the remaining commodities. Sooner or later, therefore, as new novelties come into the market, the scheme is brought to a standstill for lack of funds.

But in all probability, if the success has been sufficiently marked, the venture has attracted the attention of the general public. Regret is expressed that the advantages already reaped should not be allowed a wider field of usefulness, and a demand is raised for State aid. Then at length, after much reluctance and with considerable forebodings, the State may be stirred to action and induced to subsidise the undertaking or initiate a similar enterprise on its own account.

But, say the opponents of collective action, such interference on the part of the State will at once check private munificence. Unfortunately experience goes to show that this is not invariably the case, for it is just what ought to happen. The time has come for the volunteer to withdraw. It is a wasteful and futile proceeding for him to attempt to compete with the resources of the State. So far as he is concerned his task is done. He has launched a new venture, proved its success, and induced the State, by giving its approval and its assistance, to guarantee the permanence and efficiency of the work. As soon as may be, he should cease his activities and devote his energies to exploration in some other direction. Instead of adopting this course, the volunteer too often struggles to continue, complaining querulously about the unfair rivalry of the

State. The innate egotism of man induces him to believe that he, and he alone, can steer the bark aright; the partial blindness, likewise inherent in man, persuades him that his rival's vessel is on the rocks. Foolish wrangling and unseemly recriminations are the consequences. Finally, if a kindly fate has not transported him to another sphere, he watches the slow disintegration of his work and, instead of regarding the success of the State as the crown of all his efforts, sees in its triumph the downfall of all his cherished hopes.

To give examples of this process is easy. The splendidly-equipped modern infirmary is only a development of the pioneering work of those who built the first hospital. The time has long since come for voluntary enterprise to withdraw from the field. Elementary education is another instance. Originally initiated by individuals, the schools were later subsidised by the State. In the next stage the State provided schools of its own, and the two classes of schools were thrown into competition. Much of the present difficulty lies in the fact that the managers of the voluntary schools did not long ago recognise that the whole cost and control of the schools should fall on the State. Or to take an example on a smaller scale: Miss Octavia Hill and her rent-collectors have proved conclusively that the conditions of the dwellings of the poor can be improved, while rents are paid and no loss is allowed to fall on the landlord. Borough Councils have begun to grasp this novel idea; they are buying up slum property, putting the tenements in order and retaining the old tenants, and all without throwing a penny of the cost upon the rates. It is

to be regretted that the initiators of that admirable reform have not welcomed this imitation and have viewed the action of the Local Bodies with undisguised hostility.

It is needless to give other examples; enough has already been said. The first duty of the volunteer is to experiment boldly and, if success follows, to shift, as quickly as may be, the burden of the cost on to the broader shoulders of the State. No one is likely to complain that this field for individual enterprise is restricted in character or unworthy the best qualities which man possesses.

(4.) *Voluntary Enterprise as a Personal Force.*

The second sphere of influence, where individual enterprise can hold its own, must be sought in the domain of personal influence. The distinctive meaning of the word charity implies the personal contact, the personal sympathy, of one man for another. Here unchallenged the volunteer can assert his prerogative. It is unfortunate that certain people in their effort to strengthen, to rationalise, and even, at times, to idealise the work of charity, have allowed this personal element largely to drop out of sight, and have often deliberately gone so far as to cry down its effect. It is not a little strange that these same people are the stoutest opponents of State enterprise. For the sole, real bed-rock difference between individual and collective effort is to be found here; the one is personal and the other is impersonal. So soon as charity, in its organised form, loses this mark of individuality, there is nothing, in the nature of things, to prevent its duties being handed over

to a Public Authority. There is no essential distinction between a relief committee of charitable people and a relief committee of a Board of Guardians. In each case the investigations are undertaken by one group of persons, while the decisions, which are founded on the result of the inquiries, are determined by another. The advantage of a committee, usually advanced by its advocates, is to be sought in the fact that the resolutions are founded on general principles, which leave no room for the expression of personal liking and individual sympathy. The committee form of charity will doubtless, for a considerable period, retain its use for purposes of propaganda. But it should never look for or desire an unlimited tenancy of this office. It survives only because it has been unable to convert the community to its views; its continued existence is the badge of its continued failure.

But whatever changes the wheel of time may bring round, the day will never come when the duty of personal charity and personal sympathy can be effectively performed by the State. It is well that the supporters of State enterprise should bear this fact in mind. However enterprising and however enlightened they may become, the very magnitude of their operations will prevent the members of the Public Body from attending personally to the details; while the work of officials, admirable as it is in its own department, can never be marked by the individuality and the variety associated with the influence of one man over another. More than this, unless volunteers can be enlisted in the service, the efforts of State enter-

prise will be robbed of half its fruits. One need only point out the loss that would be entailed by the withdrawal of the volunteer visitors to the infirmaries, the workhouses, and the children's homes, institutions which, though controlled and financed by the Guardians, must remain cold and formal unless transformed by the warmth of personal interest. Or, again, it would be difficult to over-estimate the services performed by the managers of the provided schools. They introduce an element of variety, of individuality, of human sympathy, which are reflected alike on children and teachers, and could ill be spared from our system of Elementary Education.

It is necessary to lay stress on this truth, because just as organised charity is tending to usurp the functions of the State, so the State is beginning to infringe on the rights of the volunteer. There is a growing desire on the part of Public Bodies to gather in their arms all the mass of tiny details connected with administration; and there is an increasing disinclination on their part to entrust to another any effective power or to delegate to him any worthy sphere of influence. They mistake minute supervision for control, and in their effort after the one they fail to secure the other. This growth of microscopic administration, unless checked, will, like the American weed introduced into English rivers, impede and choke the stream of municipal activities, until, in place of a stream flowing towards a definite and clearly-recognised goal, there will be nothing but a felted morass drifting in clumsy eddies, it knows not, it cares not, whither.

The volunteer must be left in undisputed possession of the sphere of personal influence, a sphere which will be enlarged with every increase of collective enterprise. So long as the world remains as now, a strange medley of good and evil, joy and suffering, hope and bitter despair, so long will there be need of men and women to seek out those in trouble and say to them: "We are all alike frail mortals, if we stand alone; let us therefore join hands that we may walk life's road in company, join strength that we may together share the struggle and the fruits of final victory."

(5.) *The Resources of Social Reform.*

State and voluntary enterprise, between them, partition out the region of possible reform. In general, the lines of demarcation separating the different territories are clearly visible. There are indeed a few provinces, such as that of religion, which would have naturally passed out of the control of voluntary enterprise, had not errors of prejudice and privilege in the past, and the foolish quarrels of the present, barred the way. But ignoring a few exceptions of this character, there need be no dispute concerning divisions. To voluntary enterprise belongs the part of the pioneer; it discovers and opens up new fields in order to provide a wider scope for collective activity. In the second place, voluntary enterprise introduces the element of the individual and the human, and so wakes into pulsing life the huge institutions and heavy organisation of the State.

The remainder of the territory belongs to the State. But how big is this tract, and can we put

any limit to the sphere of its influence? Into what departments of life, in its eagerness for reform, may the State wisely and safely thrust its hand? To this question no answer can at the present time be given. We have travelled so short a journey down the road of collective action that we are unable clearly to survey the country we have traversed.

Hitherto the State has doubtless interfered vigorously in the affairs of men, but under such conditions as can give us no useful guidance. We have had one class legislating in its own interest, when in general it has been tolerably successful in securing the ends it desired. We have had one class legislating honestly in the interests of another when, though occasionally it has hit the mark, it has more often shot wide, because it lacked the requisite knowledge and sympathy. But we have as yet to discover what harvest of social prosperity can be garnered when the whole is legislating in the interests of the all. We are standing now in the early morning of this new era; the mists of night still veil from our eyes the features of the landscape that lies in front. But the mists will scatter as the hours go by; and when the day is far advanced and its toil finished, then in the cool evening we may think over the events of the journey and sum up the total of our successes and the total of our failures. But this hour of final summing up lies in the remote future, and for the moment we can but grope our way. The only limit we can put on the sphere of collective enterprise is the limit that experience will assign; and as yet no such body of experience exists. For the present two roads stand out conspicuous for their

promise of a fair journey—the road of collective production and the road of collective regulation. If we choose the first, then the State will initiate and carry out its own undertakings; if the second, the State, while leaving the actual operations to individuals, will zealously overlook and prescribe the methods and the conditions of the work. Fortunately, we can travel by both roads at once, favouring now the one and now the other, according as each affords the better going.

But both roads point in the same direction, they both lead away from the unregulated freedom of our woodland days, but both lead likewise to a richer and a truer freedom. We have permitted the modern city to grow without due control; we have allowed industry to expand as it chose; we have staked our all on the game of individual enterprise; and the cards have been against us from start to finish. The way of the future must lie in wearily turning back our steps from the goal of the individualist and persistently disregarding his clamour. We must regulate the growth of towns and we must regulate the lives of the citizens, not as heretofore in the interests of the few, but in the interests of the many; not till we take from men their freedom can we hope to make them truly free.

We are travelling, then, into a country of which we know little, but with which we shall become more familiar as the days go by. If we are wise we shall leave behind us the prejudices of the past and face the new, and perhaps strange, sights in a free and impartial spirit. Somewhere or other Plato warns his readers against becoming misologists or haters of certain words—people who condemn a course of

action without consideration because some word, such as Socialism, has been attached to it. No worse calamity than this, he adds, can befall a man.

But we must carry in our knapsack not only impartiality but also hope. There are certain departments of life where confidence in the coming of an event secures its occurrence and where faith is not only justified by its works, but is also the efficient cause in bringing the hopes to fruition. It is this spirit which must animate the reformer who pits his strength against the strength of the environment. If he stand still he is certainly lost, if he hesitate he is probably lost, but if he step boldly he may escape destruction. The land of the past we are leaving is a bleak and barren spot. We are not quitting the cornfields and fleshpots of Egypt on the chance of finding a country flowing with milk and honey. As we look at the picture of modern civilisation, with its rich and its poor, its palaces and its ghettoes, with its shams, its indifference and its cruelty, we see little to attract the eye or to bid us pause in admiration. But to use the words of Jean Paul, as he gazed towards the morning of the nineteenth century: "There will come another era when it will be light, and man will awaken from his lofty dreams, and find—his dreams still there, and that nothing is gone save his sleep. But as yet struggles the twelfth hour of the night; nocturnal birds of prey are on the wing, spectres uproar, the dead walk, the living dream."

PART II

PRACTICE

CHAPTER I

THE CHILD AND THE NEEDS OF LIFE

(1) A Minimum Wage; (2) Infant Mortality; (3) The School Age; (4) Mal-nutrition and the School Meal; (5) An Anthropometric Survey; (6) Voluntary Enterprise.

Is physical degeneration a fact? Is the health standard of the English people falling below the level reached by earlier generations? Have the new conditions of modern life been favourable or unfavourable, judged by weight and height and bodily vigour, to the progress of the race? To all these questions no answer can be given. For the data, without which any reply is merely idle guess-work, cannot be obtained. To compare, as is not infrequently done, the figures of the past, which do not exist, with the figures of the present, which have not been ascertained, and to found conclusions on the result of this ghostly comparison is, to say no more, a somewhat hazardous proceeding and not likely to lead to any very reliable generalisation.

However unsatisfactory this fact may be in the eyes of science, it has little bearing on immediate schemes of practical reform. We may frankly admit that we cannot measure the rate of our progress, if there be progress, and at the same time assert with

confidence that, if we ordered our ways with wisdom, the rate of our progress might be vastly accelerated. Medical knowledge is sufficiently advanced to define the elementary conditions of a healthy life; the most casual observation proves that, over wide areas of population, no adequate steps have been taken to insure the presence of these elementary conditions.

Even as I write these words I watch a confirmation of their essential truth being acted out before my very eyes. I look out of my window and see a troup of little children tumble turbulently down the steps of the adjoining house. They form a selection of the various families quartered there. The effect of overcrowding is clearly written on their sallow faces; the evils of mal-nutrition are displayed in small and stunted bodies, in twisted and rickety legs. Their tattered and sorry clothing testify to the presence in the home of poverty or neglect or the two combined; their rude manners and noisy shouts indicate the absence of a mother's training. A luckless baby, with features puckered like a monkey, is rigidly fixed in a "go-cart" and tended by a little girl some six years old. Considering its uncomfortable position, there is no cause for surprise in the continuous shrieks to which it gives utterance. I roam from room to room, in the vain search after some tranquil place of retreat, as I strive to frame these sentences with its cries piercing my ears. Finally relief comes to me and to the baby; the small attendant produces from a dusty pocket some deleterious sweatmeat and thrusts it into the infant's mouth. A temporary peace reigns, doubtless ere long to be broken again by an outraged and indignant infantile digestion. I know that in the neighbouring streets a similar

picture may be seen; I am aware that the same tale can be told of the next parish and the next borough; and I have little curiosity concerning the exact numbers. They are sufficiently large to attract attention, sufficiently menacing to challenge reform.

The laws of health are simple; they demand adequate and sanitary housing accommodation, they require adequate and suitable food for the children; they ask adequate knowledge and effective care on the part of the parents. For lack of these there are children, amounting perhaps to a third of the child population, who fall far short of that physical vigour which a more kindly environment would have secured them. There are a few children who suffer from the active cruelty of parents; there are more who are the victims of neglect and ignorance. Every day there are some children who go hungry because money is wanting to buy bread; many more are underfed; very many more are wrongly fed. It is needless to labour the question: the case for reform is admitted by all; it remains to suggest sane and adequate measures. I may perhaps be allowed to mention that the cries of the baby have broken out again. Outraged Nature is nothing if not sure and swift in the retribution she brings.

(1.) *A Minimum Wage.*

Every road leads to the world's end, and the world's end leads to everywhere. So, likewise, every attempt to remove some particular evil, or to solve some special problem, leads on to the whole wide problem of social reform and social ideals. In a similar way if we begin with social ideals and, instead of wandering in the fair and seductive land of dreams, strive

to suggest practical measures to secure their realisation, we are driven back to the individual evils and the individual remedies. All life is inextricably interlocked, no one department can be isolated and considered alone. I am here concerned with the child, and, so far as may be, must confine the discussion to the problem of children.

Yet I must claim the right at times to wander further afield. A child is not thrown on the world as an isolated unit; he appears as a member of a family, dragging after him all the ties and intimate connections that relationship implies. The welfare of the family and the welfare of the child are one; the housing question, sanitary reform, conditions of employment and kindred problems so nearly affect the health of the child that they cannot be altogether ignored. As a general rule incidental allusions will be sufficient to round off the discussion in a satisfactory manner.

But there is one question which, because of its own intrinsic importance, because of its intimate connections with the life of the child, and because, in programmes of social reform, it has of late years been suffered to fall into the background, cannot be treated in this summary manner. This is the question of the earnings of the family. So long as we are concerned with the children of the artisan we can proceed merrily enough in our proposals, without being brought to a standstill by any impassable rock, blocking the road of possible advance. But as soon as we drop below this level and come to the child of the unskilled labourer, the representative of that great mass of unorganised and unorganisable workers, a grim spectre meets us at every turn, forbidding progress in all directions.

If, for example, we are considering the question of raising the age of compulsory attendance at school, we are met with the objection that the parent cannot for any longer time dispense with the earnings of the children. If we advocate the abolition of child-labour, again the insistent voice exclaims that the small income of the family demands that the child shall work. Or if we attempt to insist on a minimum standard of accommodation in the home, we are asked how the money, required to pay the additional rent, can be found. Everywhere comes the same objection, and everywhere we are driven to admit that it rests on a solid foundation of fact. Poverty stands at the gate of Paradise and with its two-edged sword turns back poor and reformer alike. It is at once the most signal evil and the most signal obstacle in the way of all possible remedy.

'The time surely has come when we must face and no longer ignore or conceal the facts. Palliative measures are of no avail, they only aggravate the evil. To suggest an enlargement of the sphere of the Poor Law and a more generous system of out-relief; to increase the activity of almsgiving; to advocate municipal houses managed on an unremunerative basis; to clamour for rate-aid to feed the children of the poor—all these are indirect methods of increasing wages. Even if such schemes could be carried out on some uniform principle—and this is not possible—they would, except as a temporary expedient, merit condemnation. They are bad because they give a man by way of favour what should be his by way of right. They add indeed to his income, but at the expense of his independence and his character. The working man does

not want charity; he wants such conditions as will in general render charity unnecessary.

No plan of raising wages is satisfactory which proceeds by indirect methods. The State must enact that, if a man is employed at all, he must receive an income sufficient to keep himself and his family in health and decency. Any trade that cannot afford such a rate of pay had better disappear as speedily as possible. It is not self-supporting and can only exist by feeding, after the manner of a parasite, on the resources of another, and by flourishing at the expense of its host. If the wages paid are inadequate to maintain the family, someone must meet the deficiency. Either the workers supplement their income by periodic resort to the Poor Law, in which case the trade receives a bonus out of the rates, and thus incidentally preys upon the self-supporting industries. Or the children work before or after school-hours, and the efficiency of the future citizen is impaired. Or the wife goes out to the factory and the home is neglected. Or, finally, the family, unable to find other sources of aid, remains hungry and underfed, and the vigour of the whole is weakened. In these last alternatives the trade concerned is parasitic and battens on the living capital of the nation. The situation is intolerable; no trade, which cannot pay its way without external subsidies, is anything but a canker gnawing at the vitals of the nation.

Against the policy of a minimum wage men usually urge that, as a result, a large number of people, the halt, the blind, the inefficient and the old, will be thrown out of employment because their labour is not worth hiring at the price fixed by the State. Undoubtedly this is the case; and herein

lies one of the chief advantages of the proposal. The problem of the unemployable is thereby isolated and not, as now, left entangled in a network of other evils. To clearly recognise a problem and to comprehend its extent are the first steps on the road of solution. At the present time this class exists, be it remembered, and by its incompetence tends to drag down to its level of inadequate earnings the capable workman. To sacrifice the efficient for the sake of the inefficient is the maddest of all mad suggestions that have ever found supporters on this moon-struck planet.

From the point of view of practical administration the policy presents no serious difficulty. The problem has been solved already by various public bodies. Many of them have decided the minimum wage they will pay a workman in their employ; and the standard of the local authority, deliberately adopted after proper inquiry, might well be made the standard below which the private employer should not be allowed to fall.

Nor is there any new feature in the proposal. The organised trades have each prescribed the minimum standard to be received by the members. The unorganised trades, whose heterogeneous character renders combination impossible, must be assisted by the State to secure advantages they cannot win for themselves. Factory legislation has insisted on a minimum standard of safety and sanitation, to be observed inside the workshop; to apply the principle to a minimum standard of life outside is but a logical conclusion from the premises which have induced the State to interfere in the management of private business.

It is impossible, in a volume like the present, to do more than indicate in brief outline the policy of the minimum wage. Readers who desire to follow the subject further should turn to *Industrial Democracy* by Beatrice and Sidney Webb, where they will find the whole question discussed from the economic and social standpoint in a lucid and exhaustive manner.

Here, then, at the starting-point of all social reform relating to children, must be nailed to the masthead the policy of the minimum wage. To those familiar with the actual evils, which play havoc in the ghettoes of every great town, the legal recognition of such a principle will come as a relief impossible adequately to describe. It lifts an incubus from the shoulders of the reformer, which now presses him helpless to the ground. The course becomes comparatively clear once outside the dangerous shoals, on which has hitherto been wrecked every serious attempt to deal with the problem of the very poor.

(2.) *Infant Mortality.*

In spite of the fact that during the last half-century the general death-rate has been steadily falling, there has been no corresponding decline in the mortality of infants under twelve months. During the decade 1851-60 the death-rate per thousand of the population of England and Wales was 22.2, and during the decade 1891-1900 it was 18.2, a decrease of nearly twenty per cent. During the first decade the infant mortality rate per thousand infants born was 154, and during the second the figures were precisely the same. In 1905

120,000 infants perished, a number which represents a quarter of all who died during that period.

All the advance of medical and sanitary science, which has achieved so signal a success in the case of the general death-rate, has apparently failed to exercise any appreciable influence on the mortality of infants. May we then assume that Nature has ordained that some 150 out of every 1,000 infants shall die within the first twelve months of life? To make this assertion would be to fall into that error which overtakes those who handle large numbers without examining the elements of which they are composed. If we take smaller areas, we shall find immense variations in the figures. In London, during the last five years, the average death-rate per thousand infants ranged from 97 for the Borough of Hampstead to 179 for the Borough of Shoreditch. The high death-rate is not therefore inevitable, and we are clearly brought face to face with a huge waste of human life.

Genial optimists have seen in this destruction of some 120,000 infants every year a happy instance of the beneficent process of natural selection. Nature is the benignant goddess weeding out the weaklings of the race and awarding her kindly protection only to the healthy. But the tale, unfortunately, cannot boast this pleasant ending. The struggle for existence is a real struggle, not indeed of one baby with another, but of all the babies with a hostile environment. And, as happens in every battle, the victors leave the field with the marks of the fight stamped upon them. The keener the contest the greater is the number of the deaths, but the greater likewise the number of

the wounded. They escape indeed with their lives, but many carry with them to the grave the traces of the trial through which they have passed. A heavy death-rate among infants entails a heavy rate of inefficiency and disease among the children who grow up. The rate is indeed collected in the shape of dead babies, but its true incidence falls upon the survivors.

A heavy infantile mortality implies, then, a waste of human energy revealed in the feeble health of the new generation. That waste is greatest where the mortality is highest; and that waste is largely unnecessary, because the variation of the death-rate depends upon factors over which we have at least some control. "It may be said," writes Dr Newman, in his classical work on *Infant Mortality*, "that the distribution of infant mortality in Great Britain follows mainly in the wake of urbanisation—that is, high density of population in towns—combined with industrial and social conditions. It becomes in its most acute form a problem of town life. Rural life, as found in agricultural counties, appears to be favourable to infancy, probably owing to social conditions and domestic habits. But in those counties which are largely composed of towns, or in the towns themselves, the infant mortality is in excess of rural districts."

Not only is there no sign of decrease in the figures of infantile mortality, but there is also a decline in the birth-rate itself. In two remarkable articles published in the *Times* last October, Mr Sidney Webb shows conclusively that this decline "is principally, if not entirely, the result of

deliberate volition in the regulation of the marriage state." People are ceasing to have children because of the burden of parenthood. They marry, but under the stress of social conditions rigidly limit the number of their offspring.

Our national efficiency is therefore threatened on three sides. First there is the waste of babies in the poorer and congested districts of the towns. Next there is the waste in the physical energy of the survivors, who have indeed emerged from the struggle, but who have not emerged scathless. Finally there is the waste of unborn infants who might have, but who have never reached the light. We are now beginning to suffer from that wild orgy of individualism into which the nineteenth century plunged with all the reckless abandonment of desperate and insensate folly.

We are coming to our senses and are beginning to see the error of our ways. Doctors and philanthropists, students of social reform, and even here and there a politician, are protesting against this criminal waste of our national resources and crying out for an end of this wild extravagance. We must save the babies from an untimely death, we must foster the strength of the living, and we must make less heavy the burdens of parenthood. Nothing short of this can save England from being swept into the abyss of physical degeneracy. In a volume like the present it is impossible to deal with more than the broad outlines of the subject.

Where must we begin if we desire to check this waste of infant life? Stop it, say some, at its source; pay more attention to the feeding and the care of babies and the evil will cease. Laws of

heredity tell us that the acquired ill-health and disease of the mother are in general not passed on to her child. There is a continual tendency on the part of the babe to revert back to the standard of the race. If, therefore, we concentrate our attention on the babe, we can afford to neglect the unhealthy conditions under which the parent may be living. There is no doubt a considerable amount of truth in this theory; and it is a comforting thought to believe that every child starts its career with a clean bill of health. But those who have lately been advancing this view have been apt to misunderstand its significance. The existence of the babe does not date from the first cry it utters, as it is ushered into the light of day; its real beginning must be looked for long before, when the embryo was developing in the womb of the mother. Now it is no doubt a fact that if Nature has to choose between the babe and its mother, it nourishes the babe at the expense of the mother. But Dr Newman brings evidence to show that "the size of the offspring depends very decidedly on the diet and nutrition of the mother during pregnancy"; while arduous toil leads to premature births. Common sense tells us that a mother, who inhabits an over-crowded home, who is under-fed and over-worked, and who leaves the factory only a few days before confinement, can hardly be regarded as a healthy environment for the embryo child. Or, to put the matter bluntly, you cannot shut up a growing organism in an insanitary dwelling for many months during the most critical period of its development without reaping the fruits of your folly. Finally, if the

mother is badly nourished when the child is born she is not in a fit state to suckle it; and all agree that there is no really satisfactory substitute for the mother's milk. It is essential therefore that if we desire children to be born healthy we must care for the health of the mother.

It is necessary to throw into prominence the importance of the mother, as there is a growing tendency to depreciate her share in the production of healthy children. If we want healthy infants we must first have healthy mothers; and we shall not secure healthy mothers unless the ordinary rules of health are observed. Suitable dwellings and an absence of over-crowding, the prohibition of arduous toil to women during the period of motherhood, and the frank recognition by the State of its joint interest with the parents in the welfare of the children, these are the conditions which any sane schemes of reform must strive to secure. To convert these general principles into practical proposals would be to stray beyond the limits of the present volume; but the enforcement of a minimum wage would carry us a long way in the desired direction. It would then be easy to insist on the observance of strict housing regulations; there would be no urgent demand for the woman to supplement by her work the earnings of the husband, as apart from her efforts an income, adequate to purchase the bare necessities of a decent existence, would be assured.

The appearance of the infant in the world is only a signal for a shifting and a multiplication of the difficulties, which assume a more general and less specialised character. Instead of being con-

cerned with only one person, the mother, we are confronted by the whole complexity of a usually hostile environment. The causes of a high infant mortality are well known. For a detailed discussion of the question the reader must be referred to Dr Newman's *Infant Mortality*; but for the present purpose it will be sufficient to indicate a threefold origin of the evil. There is first the mother's lack of knowledge about the management of infants; there is next the lack of facilities for obtaining such necessaries as sterilised milk or proper medical advice; and finally there is the lack of means to make use of such facilities as may exist.

If we can start with the healthy mother who has leisure to nurse her baby, the momentum of this good beginning will carry us far on our journey. If, however, we cannot secure this preliminary measure of success, we must frankly recognise that we are heavily handicapped, and can only look for a less accentuated failure than that which now excites attention. Charity, out-relief, crèches and the like have doubtless their uses, but, in the absence of the healthy mother, they are little better than well-meant anodynes which can stay the more acute forms of suffering, but which cannot offer any hope of permanent cure. They can be justified as temporary expedients, while men are coming to their senses, but must never be regarded as final solutions of the problem. There is always the danger that enthusiasm for half-measures will only deepen the lethargy of the British public, which pays no attention to the existence of wrongs so long as the effects are hidden from its eyes. Playing with remedies is a dangerous game, and

to go to the root of the whole matter and strike there is ever the wiser course. But in the present famine of babies we cannot afford to neglect any measure which tends to stay the slaughter of those who do manage to creep out into the light.

First we want the mother's meal. It is more satisfactory, and at the same time cheaper, to feed the baby by feeding the mother. A wealthy Frenchman has made the experiment of providing two good meals a day for nursing mothers; and the results have surpassed even the most sanguine anticipations. Any reform of the Poor Law must contemplate and insist on the provision of the mother's meals.

Secondly, we must have municipal dépôts for the supply of sterilised and modified cow's milk. These establishments have long since passed through the experimental stage and should be found everywhere. No valid reasons can be advanced for making them self-supporting, so long as no differential treatment of the various classes of the community is allowed and the same opportunities are offered to all. The cost thrown on the State is merely a sign of the State's recognition of its share and interest in the crop of children.

Thirdly, we must endeavour to disseminate knowledge among the mothers. Many Public Bodies have recognised this duty and are striving to meet the need by the distribution of leaflets, the institution of special classes and the provision of free and friendly advice. The main difficulty, however, lies in driving home the lessons where they are most required. There are several ways of attacking the problem. Every birth must be

registered within twenty-four hours of its occurrence, when a visit should be at once paid the parent by some sympathetic lady who can boast both tact and practical experience. Various towns have adopted schemes of this character. Dr Newman describes the system as it exists in Huddersfield:—

"The Borough is divided into nine districts, from which births are notified to the Medical Officer of Health (on a voluntary system of one shilling for each birth notified within twenty-four hours of its occurrence). Each of these nine districts has a voluntary worker known as a 'Lady Superintendent,' who is assisted by voluntary Lady Helpers, and these various voluntary workers are supervised by two lady doctors appointed by the Corporation, who, of course, work under the Medical Officer. The newly-born children are visited as soon as possible by the lady doctors, who give suitable advice and leave copies of the short or extended advice. Each Saturday a list of the cases in her district is sent to a Lady Superintendent, who distributes the cases among her Lady Helpers. These keep the cases under observation, and, where it appears necessary, invoke the aid of the Department."

This is work which can be excellently performed by the trained volunteer.

In this way we educate the parent through the lady visitor, but we can also educate her through her children. We want a better training of the elder girls in the elementary school. At the present time cookery and laundry classes are common, but they fail of any very considerable results, because the children are unable to practise at home what they learn in school. The mother keeps the cooking and the laundrywork in her own hands; but the care of the baby is to a large extent

entrusted to the elder girls. Domestic economy centres of a novel character, with a crèche attached, are required. Instead of setting the girls, as often happens now, to sweep out an already immaculate room, they will be put to wash and dress a far from immaculate baby. Lessons on infant feeding, instead of issuing in futile exhortation, will be practically applied to living examples. The lesson, so learned, will in the majority of cases be used in the home. Children always like to display their school accomplishments, and their efforts in this direction will exert a beneficent influence over the parent. Incidentally, as a by-product of such centres, we shall have a cheap and efficient crèche, which can be used for those babies who, under existing conditions, cannot be cared for at home.

Someone has somewhere advocated another method of checking infant mortality. He suggests that the State should institute a sort of annual competition among the different local authorities. An award should be bestowed on that authority which during the year has succeeded in securing the greatest reduction in the death-rate of babies. He proposes, as the highest incentive to energy, that the mayor or chairman of the successful authority should receive a knighthood. This would, undoubtedly, be an effective plan and, as it involves no cost, might be adopted immediately.

It is not possible here to enter further into the wider problems of social reform, but I shall return to the subject frequently in other portions of the volume. Many of the proposals which appear later deal with the other side of the question and seek, by the removal of some of the disabilities

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now attached to parenthood, to increase the birth-rate among the more intelligent classes of the community. "We need," says Mr Sidney Webb, in his articles in the *Times* already alluded to—

"a revolution in the economic incidence of child-bearing, which would leave the way open to the play of the best instincts of mankind. To the vast majority of women, and especially to those of fine type, the rearing of children would be the most attractive occupation, if it offered economic advantages equal to those, say, of school-teaching or service in the Post Office. At present it is ignored as an occupation, unremunerated, and in no way honoured by the State. Once the production of healthy, moral and intelligent citizens is revered as a social service, and made the subject of deliberate praise and encouragement on the part of the Government, it will, we may be sure, attract the best and most patriotic of the citizens. Once set free from the overwhelming economic penalties with which it is at present visited, the rearing of a family may gradually be rendered part of the code of the ordinary citizens' morality. The natural repulsion to interference in marital relations will have free play. The mystic obligations of which the religious-minded feel the force will no longer be confronted by the dead wall of economic necessity. To the present writer it seems that only by some such 'sharp turn' in our way of dealing with those problems can we avoid race deterioration if not race suicide."

(3.) *The School Age.*

In the many discussions that have gathered round the subject of physical degeneration, considerable attention has been given to the determination of the age at which children should first be allowed to attend school. It has been pointed out that some countries, like Switzerland, do not admit scholars under seven; that England is the only nation which

makes provision for children as young as three; and that education in any real sense of the word cannot be imparted to infants of such tender years; and it is urged in conclusion that the child would be much better off in the romping freedom of the home. The Board of Education has recently issued a report in favour of this view, which has humorously been termed by someone the attack of the spiteful spinsters on the children of the poor. At the present time Education Authorities are left free to accept or refuse children under five; but signs are not wanting that the grants for the same may at no distant date be withdrawn.

But the whole controversy is nothing but a futile beating of the air, which ignores the facts. Doubtless the child would be better off in a comfortable home, under the watchful care of an attentive mother. But where is the comfortable home and where the attentive mother in the tenements of a crowded city? In cold weather the child is shut up in an airless room, left to itself when the parent is out, with nothing to amuse and nothing to stimulate the dawn of mind. In the hot days it is seen in a sort of squalid solitude, roaming restlessly over the pavement. First make your home, and then if you will, leave the child there.

It is possible that the curriculum of the infant school needs to be transformed; but transformation is one thing and destruction another. One, Froebel, was not altogether unsuccessful with even the youngest children. The mind grows somehow, and the growth is most rapid in the early years; it cannot therefore be beyond the range of science to discover the conditions most favourable to develop-

ment. Indeed considerable progress has already been made in the transformation of the methods employed in the training of infants, and more remains to be done. We are coming to see that the age for beginning to learn to read may with advantage be postponed, that much of the needle-work and many of the kindergarten occupations try too severely the sight of the younger children, while we now recognise that sedentary tasks should be replaced by romping games, which are at once more congenial to children of a tender age, and at the same time more favourable to the cause of physical development.

But all this goes to prove that infants require not less but more thought and attention. The opponents of the present system are right when they call for change; but they go sadly astray when they imagine that, for children under five years, the training of the home must necessarily be superior to the training of the school. Do they suppose that to leave the child to the unmodified influence of those conditions, which are common throughout wide areas of a town, where the mother is compelled to go out to work while the infants are committed to the care of a girl who is still at school, where ignorance is general and neglect not infrequent, and where the meagre space of the tenement renders active games impossible, and even a limited freedom dangerous, can they really flatter themselves that this is the best means of gaining their hearts' desire—the rearing of a lusty and imperial race? The true question of the moment is not whether children should be accepted by the school before the age of five, but whether we ought

not to encourage parents to bring them before the age of three. There are parts of every town where the establishment of municipal crèches is essential to the welfare of the children of the people.

At what age shall attendance at school cease to be compulsory? On this question the good sense of the community is gradually drifting towards an agreement. We are coming to recognise that the half-time system, still prevalent in some parts of the country, is at once cruel and uneconomic. We should no longer tolerate this device for securing cheap labour to-day, which must be paid for in the inefficient citizens of to-morrow. The era of child-slavery must be brought to an end; and if Parliament were to enact that no child should leave school before the age of fourteen, few persons would be found bold enough to oppose this tribute to the growing sentiment of humanity.

Are the times ripe for adding another year to the age of compulsory attendance? It must be admitted with regret that a measure of this kind would receive but scanty measure of support. We shall see later that the line of least resistance lies in the direction of instituting a new half-time system, under which the child of fourteen, though freed from the obligation of whole-time attendance, will be compelled to spend half the day at some technical school or institute till he reaches the age of sixteen.

In close connection with the age of leaving school is the problem of the employment of school-children. Legislation has already recognised the evil; and the issue of by-laws by various Local Authorities, restricting such employment, marks another victory over that individualism which

claims a right to sacrifice on the altar of property the welfare of the citizens of the future.

Restriction is better than licence, but the total prohibition of the work of school-children is the goal towards which we must strive. An interesting investigation, carried out by the Medical Officer (for Education) of the London County Council, demonstrates that anything but the lightest work is detrimental to the health of the children. The results are published in his report for the year 1906. An examination of a large number of boys and girls shows that anæmia, nerve signs, deformities and heart trouble are the consequences which follow in the track of child employment—symptoms which increase in frequency and severity with every additional hour of toil. The economic exigencies of many families cannot at present dispense with the child's earnings, but with the introduction of a minimum wage this wastage of the living capital of the nation could at once be brought to an end.

(4.) *Mal-nutrition and the School Meal.*

The word mal-nutrition is a better word than underfed, as it leaves open the question as to whether the physical weakness of many children is due to want of food or to other causes. There is the arduous work of the mother during pregnancy; there is the kindly ignorance that injures the infant in its early years; overcrowding, narrow streets and lack of open spaces, bad clothing, bad boots, unsuitable food; all these are factors, of which the final result is visible in the puny and rickety child. It is therefore a misfortune that the interest and the talk have been concentrated almost entirely on the problem of

the school meal. We may however take comfort from the reflection that the majority of the nation is beginning to realise that all is not well with the health of its children.

As has already been mentioned, accurate figures indicating the real extent of mal-nutrition do not exist. But certain facts cannot be ignored by anyone who is familiar with the lives of the working classes, and may be quoted to justify the case for drastic measures. Neglecting that class of the community which under any circumstances would be unable to give children sufficient food, because the wages are too small or too irregular to purchase what is required, there is a much larger number of children, coming in many cases even from the home of the artisan, who remain delicate and ill-nourished because improperly fed. These children have become accustomed to and demand a highly seasoned diet, rendered appetising by the copious addition of pickles and sauces—a diet which, while it stays the pangs of hunger, ruins the digestion and fails to supply sufficient material for the building up of the body. Compared with the cost of wholesome meals this diet is extravagantly expensive. It is common experience that the children, with appetites deranged in this way, dislike and at first find a difficulty in assimilating the more nutritious and the more suitable sorts of food.

Here then at the outset we are face to face with a widespread evil, entailing a waste of money and a waste of human energy. It would be difficult to exaggerate the harm done. We cannot educate the parents; we must therefore educate the child. Mere book lessons are futile and good words a fond

delusion. The children must learn to like wholesome food by becoming accustomed to it in their earlier years, and they can only become accustomed to it by being provided with the means of testing its value by the proof of actual consumption. They will not be supplied with such meals at home, they must therefore receive them at school. Nothing short of this will be of any avail.

A school meal must therefore be regarded as an integral part of any satisfactory system of education. If some of the girls can help in its preparation, the benefit derived will be doubled. The Education Committee of the London County Council has already made an experiment in this direction. In certain schools to which cookery centres are attached the girls have been taught to cook a cheap and simple meal for from twenty-five to fifty children. Tables have been provided in the school-hall, and the children, and in some instances one or other of the teachers, have sat down and dined together during the midday interval. The success of this pioneering experiment justifies the initiation of a larger scheme. It is the unanimous opinion of experts that the cookery instruction has gained immensely in value, because a practical turn has been given to the lessons which they did not before possess.

There are, of course, other incidental advantages which will follow when this practice becomes universal. The dinner will be served nicely, order will be maintained, and the children will learn the elements of good manners. As Mr Sidney Webb writes in his article in the *Times*:—

"The feeding of all the children at school appears in a new light, and we come, at a stride, appreciably nearer to

that not very distant article in the Education Code making obligatory in the time-table a new subject—namely, 12-1 p.m. table manners (materials provided)."

Nor must we forget that strengthening of the ties of human fellowship and brotherhood which has from time immemorial been associated with the communal meal. "You believe, you Christians"—so one of the Labour members of the present Parliament is reported to have said—"in the sacrament of the breaking of bread; so do we: we would therefore have our children eat together."

If any fear to see in such a proposal a lowering of the sense of parental responsibility, let them regard this expenditure as the wages paid by the community to the mother for the pains of motherhood. The mother, indeed, chooses that children shall be born into the world; but the State, in the cause of its own continued existence, wishes her to make this choice. The State should be willing to pay a share of the cost of an undertaking by which both profit.

It is unnecessary to criticise other schemes for feeding children, such as that most popular plan of picking and choosing hungry children and prosecuting negligent parents. The picking and choosing would entail an army of inquiry agents, and the prosecuting is a mere pretence, and, in practice, would hardly ever be undertaken. All these selective schemes suffer from an inherent fault. They are grants in aid of wages, subsidies to parasitic trades, rates levied on all to aid and abet delinquent employers. The proposal of the meal as part of the school curriculum escapes this difficulty. All are taxed for the benefit of all; the State takes men's money and spends it for them,

because the State knows how to spend their money better than they do themselves. This principle of collective spending admits of considerable development, and is merely an expression of that broadening of human relationships and that deepening of the sense of common interests and common responsibilities which are the most characteristic features of a progressive civilisation.

It is clear, however, that the provision of a single meal each day cannot alone secure the health and vigour of the rising generation. There will always remain many children who, for diverse reasons, drop far below the normal standard of the race. Now, all the children who are likely to fall into this class and whose cases at the same time admit of remedy, pass under the notice and so come under the control of the State during the course of their education. No serious difficulty is therefore involved in the task of picking out such weaklings, of ascertaining the cause of their ailments, and taking the necessary steps to remove the evil.

A terminal medical examination of all scholars is now part of the organisation of any well-managed secondary school. At the present time a similar practice is creeping, with slow and halting steps, into the elementary school system. Few people will be bold enough to deny that an inspection, which has been found essential to the well-being of the more prosperous section of the community, is not equally necessary in the case of the less fortunate members of society, and still fewer will shrink from the task on the grounds of the expense which will need to be incurred. We may fairly

anticipate that this expense will be easily recouped in the increased efficiency of the race. We may hope that ere long the Education Department will refuse grants to any school where all the children are not examined by competent persons at least once a year.

In this way we shall isolate the failures; and to ascertain their existence is the first step in the direction of cure, or, at any rate, of remedial treatment. The failures will fall into one or other of several classes, each of which will call for separate consideration.

There is first the case of those who suffer from some permanent mental or physical affliction; and for these special institutions must be provided. The success of the existing special school system, day and residential, with the means of transporting the pupils to appropriate centres, has already fully justified its existence. So far as the school needs of such children are concerned, the matter is now satisfactorily dealt with in most of the large centres of population. The difficulties, however, begin when the age of compulsory attendance is passed. There are, perhaps, few problems more closely affecting the health of the race than the after-care and the after-control of the physically and mentally defective. A Royal Commission is now drawing up a report on the methods of dealing with the feeble-minded; and it is to be hoped that the result of their deliberations will end in legislation which will eradicate, or at any rate circumscribe and isolate, the disease.

There are, next, the failures of the normally

constituted children, due to physical ailments, which admit of cure or at any rate of alleviation. Bad sight, bad hearing, bad teeth, adenoid growths, uncleanliness, and a host of other definite diseases, belong to this class. In the majority of instances it will be found sufficient to warn the parents of the existence of the evil and to advise them of the necessary steps they should take in order to secure its removal. Hospitals or opportunities for obtaining free medical treatment are in most cases within the reach of all. There will, however, be a few negligent and refractory parents, who offer a stubborn opposition to the suggestions, and must be driven into compliance. Even under the existing law the child can be excluded from school and the father prosecuted for not sending the children in a fit state to attend school. Experience has shown that cases of the kind are rare and can be satisfactorily dealt with after this manner.

There are, next, the failures which are due to lack of food and the other necessaries of a healthy life. The questions concerned are so various and intricate, involving the whole social problem, that it is impossible here to deal with more than a few of the most prominent types.

First, there is that large class where failure is caused by the low though regular earnings of the parents. To their children the provision at school of one good meal a day will be an immense boon, and in many instances render further assistance unnecessary. To give special monetary help to this class is, as has already been pointed out, to subsidise the bad employer and so to foster the parasitic trades. The sole right and adequate

remedy is to be sought in the enforcement of a national minimum wage.

Secondly, there is the very miscellaneous group of cases where the child suffers through some temporary inability on the part of the parents to provide what is required. Irregularity of employment, periods of illness, and special times of distress due to fluctuations in trade, are among the principal causes. It is impossible to establish any general machinery capable of dealing with such difficulties. If the recommendations already made, and the others which will be suggested below, are adopted, the outstanding cases will probably be found a manageable quantity. The better organisation of industry, the provision of work for the unemployed, the humanising of the Poor Law, and the resources of private charity, should prove adequate to cope with the problem. In special instances, and to meet a special emergency, it will probably be found necessary in certain schools to provide an extra meal.

Thirdly comes the class where failure to stand the test of the medical examination is the result of indifference, neglect, or actual cruelty on the part of the parents. These cases do not differ essentially from the cases where the children are truants or exhibit a persistent irregularity in their attendance at school. There is in short a defect in the environment of the family, of so serious a character that it is necessary, for a time at any rate, either to withdraw the children from the home or to remove them, to some extent, from the full control of the parents. The residential industrial school or the cheaper, and as a rule more effective, day industrial

school has been found the most satisfactory way of dealing with the worst examples of irregular attendance. Schools of a similar character—whether day or residential is the best type only experience can say—must be provided for the neglected children. They would be sent to such institutions for a definite period on a magistrate's order, and would there receive food and clothing and the special attention they require; while the parents would be compelled to pay some portion of the cost. After this period had elapsed the children would be returned to their homes and for some months kept under careful supervision. Thus the child would benefit, and the parent be punished for having failed to perform his duty. Persistent irregularity of health, due to neglect, is at least as serious as persistent irregularity of attendance and must be treated in a similar and no less drastic manner.

Finally, there remains a group whose needs cannot be met in any of the ways already suggested. No mention has yet been made of the wife who loses her husband and is left with a family of young children, but without means of providing for their subsistence other than the precarious earnings of her own labour. Among all sections of the community the lot of no one class is more pitiable or more forlorn than the lot of the widow. Working early and late, scraping together mean sums of money by casual charring or other forms of intermittent employment, and supplementing her meagre resources by appeals to charity or by acceptance of the inadequate pittance the Guardians grudgingly allow, she hardly knows from hour to hour how the next meal or the next week's rent is to be procured.

It is, moreover, a fact of common observance that few persons can boast a more unblemished character or exhibit in their lives proofs of a more heroic struggle. We can but wonder that a nation, which makes some claim to the humane amenities of civilisation, can reconcile with its conscience or its professions the continued existence of such a mass of unnecessary suffering.

Only two remedies worthy of the name exist. Either the State must take the children and leave the widow to fend for herself, or the State must allow her to keep her children while the community fends for the home. There are cases of bad character or of permanent ill-health where the first alternative must be adopted; but in the majority of instances this course will be neither practicable nor, in the interests of family affection, a thing to be desired. But where we elect to commit the children to the care of their mother, we must use every precaution to insure the presence of satisfactory conditions in the dwelling. Nothing must be left to chance; we must see that the children are properly fed and suitably clothed; we must also preserve the home life intact. We must not acquiesce in the absence of the woman from early morning until late at night. Nor must we reconcile ourselves to the possible existence of those leisured intervals which space the times when employment can be found and for which the health of the children pays so high a price. I am not suggesting that the widow should be allowed to live in idleness, though this term is surely a misnomer when applied to a mother's work in the house. The State must support her, and the State

will have the right to demand in return such services as she can properly be asked to give. With the development of crèches and the provision of a school meal for all, there will be a wide field where a widow, without detriment to the home, can render valuable assistance to the community at large.

The rearing of children must be regarded as a co-operative undertaking, in which there are three parties—the father, the mother and the State. With the death of the father, a fresh deed of partnership between the State and the widow becomes necessary. The State assumes at once the duties and the privileges of the father, while retaining all its former interests. The State will be responsible for the support of the home, while the widow will perform all the ordinary domestic tasks, including, if required, the care of some of the other children of the State by other wives. There will be nothing compulsory about this novel form of wedding; the State will stand as a willing bridegroom, ready to accept as temporary members of its extensive harem any widows with children who like to offer themselves. If, the medical examination at school shows that the children of widows, who manifest no eagerness for a further matrimonial venture, are strong and healthy, the State will have no cause for interference. If, however, any bad symptoms are detected, the State, as one of the partners, will retain the right to step in and see that its interests are duly guarded.

The question of mal-nutrition and the general care of the State's family might well be left here, if it were not for the fact that we are beginning to see

that there are certain children with whom the town and the conditions of the town school do not agree. They need more fresh air, and for lack of it remain puny and delicate, even if they do not fall into more definite disease. In *The Children of the Nation* Sir John Gorst gives an account of the Charlottenburg Forest School, which was established to deal with cases of this character. The schoolhouse, a simple one-storeyed building, is situated in the midst of the forest, and the children are taken there in the morning and brought home at night. They spend much of the day in the open air, while the remainder of the time is devoted to the ordinary lessons. They are well fed and kept under careful medical supervision. The cost is small and the result, measured in the improvement of the children, whether physical, mental or moral, astonishingly beneficial. "What struck me," writes the author, "was the air of extraordinary joyfulness which pervaded the whole establishment, from the medical superintendent down to the smallest and poorest child; and I marvelled at the administrative ability which had, at so small a cost, provided such a great portion of health and happiness to brighten at least the beginning of life to these poor children, so neglected in our country." The experiment deserves the careful attention of Education Authorities. Municipal trams might well carry such children out into the country to a school of this character; while in London a County Council steamer could be used to transport the children daily to some institution placed on the banks of the Thames at a spot far removed from the dust, the jaded air and the turmoil of the town.

(5.) *An Anthropometric Survey.*

But what will be the result of the establishment of all this elaborate machinery, and how shall we judge of its fruits? We want figures, we must escape from vague impressionism. It is idle to embark on an undertaking, which will involve considerable expense, unless at the same time we take the steps necessary to ascertain the actual effect. Side by side with these new ventures we must carry out an anthropometric survey of the children of England. Children must be weighed and measured, and an estimate made of their general health and intelligence. A race standard would thus be determined and future surveys indicate any rise or fall in the level attained.

The collection, the manipulation and the evaluation of such figures involve tasks of considerable difficulty and demand scientific ability of a high order. The results of the survey should therefore be under the control of some central authority, while the local authorities could be left to carry out the detailed collection of facts. There would be no need to examine all children; such a mass of figures would be unmanageable. Selected schools in selected areas could be chosen for the periodic examinations.

Some scheme of this character is absolutely essential in order to put on a scientific basis the figures relating to the health of the children. No one can read the vague conclusions of the Royal Commission on Physical Degeneration without being acutely conscious of the pressing need of an anthropometric survey.

(6.) *Voluntary Enterprise.*

In the course of the previous discussion incidental allusions have been made to the work of the volunteer. The question is of such importance, and their co-operation so essential to the success of many of the schemes outlined, that it is desirable to devote a special section to the activities of this very numerous and miscellaneous body.

It is probable that few people have any conception of the vast number of workers who, for one purpose or another, are engaged in giving their services in a private capacity to the community. There are the ministers and the district visitors of the various religious organisations. There are the managers of the elementary schools and other educational institutions; there are the volunteers associated with the work of the Boards of Guardians; and there is an amazingly heterogeneous body of people, represented by university settlements, ladies' settlements, temperance workers, fresh air funds and country holidays, and a dozen other unclassifiable agencies. All these have at heart the improvement of the condition of the poor. It is foolish to disregard this great army in any plans of social reform.

Of these various bodies of voluntary workers, the district visitors and other similar appendages of the churches and chapels are the most important. Their chief strength lies in their numbers and their energy; their chief weakness is their ignorance. In any well-organised parish, each street or portion of a street has its own visitor, who usually spends at least a day a week in her district. If to these be

added the Nonconformist workers who look after members of their own community, the nursing institutions and the religious and semi-religious orders, it will be seen that there is here the possibility of producing a great effect on the lives of the people.

Certain successes they have undoubtedly achieved. They have gained free admission at all seasons into the houses of the poor. The visits are seldom regarded as an intrusion and are usually welcomed with sincere pleasure; in many instances real and lasting friendships are the outcome of this intimacy. As an expression of human brotherhood such work is invaluable; as a means of religious propagandism it is probably useful; but as a force of social reform it is singularly ineffective. After paying all due regard to the ladies concerned, to their self-sacrifice and their kindness of heart, it must be admitted that the results achieved are small when compared with the labour expended. The visit, as a general rule, begins and ends in gossip—gossip which is always sympathetic, occasionally edifying, but rarely practical in character. Advice is freely given, but the knowledge, necessary to make that advice serviceable or even safe, is seldom at hand. If the visitor is drawn from the wealthier section of the community, she seldom possesses that grasp of the conditions, under which the poor live, to be able to propose remedial measures within the range of possible adoption. Almsgiving is regarded as the one effective form of assistance; and in the majority of cases this is the most disastrous of all courses. So far as the advice is concerned, little harm is done; the ignorance displayed is so palpable that the poor take the words for what they are worth, as an expression of good-

will, but disregard their import with a gentle amiability. If, on the other hand, the visitor comes from the ranks of those she is eager to befriend, she is acutely conscious of the difficulties that mar the life of the poor, but unable to suggest a way of escape, at any rate so far as the present world is concerned.

But an opportunity for quite invaluable work is lost. No one who has observed the benefits that follow the visits of a trained nurse will question this assertion. It is beyond all manner of doubt that such a person, in a single month, does more good, so far as the material welfare of the family is concerned, than all the district visitors of a parish in an entire year. It is true that all district visitors cannot be trained nurses: it is probably undesirable that this should be the case. But in London, at any rate, without much trouble or cost, they can acquire the knowledge needed to give to their labour that driving efficiency it now lacks. Classes in domestic economy, home-nursing, management of babies and the like, are carried on by the County Council in various parts. They are, however, scantily attended by a few of the more thoughtful parents, but among the students rarely, if ever, will there be found a single district visitor. What we ought to see is an eager flock of women gathering round the school. Nurses and sisters in their flowing garb will mingle with the lady, who arrives in her carriage from the West End, and the humble daily worker, who comes on foot, all anxious to fit themselves for the duties they have undertaken. If some energetic person were to collect a sufficient number of people willing

to form a class, few Education Authorities would refuse to supply a suitable lecturer.

The parents themselves, ignorant as they are of their own ignorance, will never, in large numbers, attend classes, and, were they to do so, it is doubtful whether many would derive much benefit. If they are to have the knowledge, it must be brought to their very doors; and the people to bring it are the district visitors, who are continually coming to those doors. As soon as the parents recognise—and they do this quickly enough in the case of the trained nurse—that the advice given is founded on a knowledge of actual conditions and marked by practicable and inexpensive suggestions, they will accept guidance. Infant care and feeding, the ventilation of the home, economic cooking and the evils of overcrowding, all these problems, almost insoluble when dealt with in a collective manner, will yield to the wise persuasion and tactful persistence of trusted friends. It is impossible to overestimate the beneficial effect that might be produced by an army of trained, competent, and sympathetic women. The district visitors have been specially named, but what has been said of them applies generally to the other workers among the poor. Their comparative failure is due not to lack of energy but to want of knowledge.

But apart from this sphere of personal influence there is another field of useful activity open to those who come in daily contact with the working classes —the collection of facts. Every worker should keep a rough note-book, entering such scraps of information as the number of persons to a room and the observed effects, the amusements of the family,

their country holidays and excursions, and periods of distress and enforced leisure. Such note-books would be of immense value to the scientific inquirer.

Further, such a band of trained workers would supply at once arguments and material for new measures of social reform. They would give to the proposals of the legislator a driving force and an actuality which such proposals do not always possess. A Public Authority can always obtain the best expert opinion on the theoretical side of any question, but how best to give effect to this opinion amid the complexities of daily life, this is the task that can be accomplished only by the person who is cognisant of the conditions under which the poor live. Half our administrative action is futile for lack of this information.

Finally, as mentioned before, there is the field of actual experiment. The volunteer should launch his pioneering bark with a bold and cheerful courage and, where success follows, should put pressure on the Local Authority or the State to undertake the burden of giving wider expression to the movement. The duty of the volunteer is then of a threefold character. On the one hand he must act as a sort of middleman between the State and the individual, disseminate useful information supplied by the State and give a real efficiency to the various sanitary and regulative laws. On the other hand, he will be gathering information and initiating experiments, destined to issue in the opening up of new fields of activity for collective enterprise — an activity which will demand renewed energy on his part if the full measure of possible success is to be obtained.

CHAPTER II

THE CHILD AND THE SCHOOL

(1) The Aims of the School; (2) Habits; (3) Interests; (4) Imagination; (5) The Tools of Life; (6) The Entrance to a Trade; (7) General Conclusions.

If the progress of any cause were proportionate to the rapidity in the increase of the literature on the subject, then we might fairly flatter ourselves that the bark of education was sailing before a fair wind and would soon drop anchor in the secure haven of realised ideals. The mass of educational treatises, documents, pamphlets and papers, which year by year are thrust upon the market, is truly astonishing in the magnitude and the variety displayed. It might therefore well appear a work of supererogation to launch another essay on this busily discussed question. The sole justification for the present chapter must be sought in the fact that its author can boast no professional experience as a teacher.

The vast majority of the volumes, which treat of matters educational, come from the pens of schoolmasters, school-inspectors or professors of pedagogy, whatever that last cacophonous term may signify. The diligent reader, who plods faithfully through this intricate jungle, will in the course of his journey acquire a certain number of fairly definite conclusions. He will be stricken with amazement at the almost diabolical ingenuity exhibited by the writers in the work of supplying the child with the particular style of mental furniture

they have selected. He will, however, feel less confidence in asserting that the special articles chosen are those best adapted to meet the needs or stand the wear and tear of after years. Indeed he will have a shrewd suspicion that less attention is given to the design of the furniture than to the task of safely housing it in the sundry receptacles of the pupil's head. A dozen charming devices are, for example, suggested with the view of alluring the child into the garden of the natural sciences; but whether this garden is for him a desirable playground, or how long he should be permitted to wander down its neatly-trimmed paths, on these not altogether irrelevant questions little information is forthcoming.

The writers can, however, hardly be blamed for neglect of duty when, in a sense, they are only minding their own business instead of trespassing on the preserves of another. They are rightly concerned more with methods and less with the ends these methods are intended to secure. It is for the layman to explain what purposes education should serve; it is for the expert to indicate how these purposes may most effectively be realised. "I want my son to know 'rithmetic," said Mr Tulliver. Whether a thorough grounding in the principles of the Latin Grammar—the course favoured by the Rev. Mr Stelling—was the shortest cut to this goal, he very rightly felt was no affair of his.

The object, therefore, of this chapter must be sought in a desire to draw up a catalogue of needs, which the schools ought to supply. If at times there is some appearance of trespassing on the province of the expert, such excursions must be re-

garded in the light of illustration and explanation and should not be deemed to imply any rigid rules of procedure. It is for the teacher to say how the desired goal may be reached, if indeed such attainment be in any way possible.

Touching this last point—the possibility of attainment—there need be little cause for serious apprehension. Hitherto the teachers have achieved a signal success in the performance of the tasks laid upon them. We have requested that the children should come to school, and the regularity of their attendance has become astonishing. We have required that they should learn to read, and they have learned to read, if not with perfect intelligence, at any rate with amazing fluency. We have insisted that they should exhibit a pretty ingenuity in the manipulation of arithmetical symbols, and their triumphs of calculation have filled us with a bewildered wonderment. We have demanded that they should be apt in the disembowelling of complex grammatical sentences, and their deftness in this quaint work of dissection is almost incredible. And we have clamoured for many other accomplishments, and these likewise have been forthcoming. Whether we like what we have asked for, now that we have got it, is, however, another question; but if we are not content, we have no one to blame except ourselves. Through our Codes and our Inspectors we have begged for these things, and our requests have not been in vain. Moreover, the teachers have thrown in a number of other gifts, which sundry folk, not perhaps altogether devoid of understanding, have been inclined to consider of more permanent value than the special tribute demanded.

There is therefore little cause for despondency; and we may go forward with hearts brave in the assurance that those who carry on the work of the schools will prove themselves able to attain other ends than those hitherto desired. We should, however, do well to remember that if we prescribe tasks which cannot be defined as clearly as the capacity to get four sums right out of a possible total of four, we must be prepared to allow to the teachers a greater freedom of choice in matters of curriculum and a more generous liberty in the field of experiment than they have enjoyed in the past.

(1.) *The Aims of the School.*

What then might the man in the street, approaching the subject from the severely practical point of view, characteristic of the man in the street, expect to receive in return for that expenditure on education which he incurs with such grim and unconcealed reluctance? What, in his opinion, should be the proper aims of the school? Like a report of a pistol the conventional answer snaps out, clad in neat copy-book form: "The object of education is the formation of character." The assertion is admirably true and covers everything, but covers so much more that it leaves nothing outside; and the inquirer remains in a condition of complaisant bewilderment. To reply thus is like offering a man the canopy of heaven when all he desires is a roof over his head. Disappointment is the child of exaggerated hopes and impossible demands; and it is idle to look to education alone to lead us to the gates of Paradise. The training in the school is only a part of the training that comes from intercourse with the world

and must be grafted on to the training of the home. The children are in the school for a small fraction of the day, and, even so, during only a small fraction of their existence; for the rest, they are the more or less unconscious playthings of the environment.

We want, therefore, a reply at once definite and suggestive—something that will give direction to our aims, meaning to our work. If the school career is to be regarded as merely a fragment of life, temporarily detached for purposes of convenience, it is obvious that its ideal must be in harmony with the ideal of life itself. Now our waking life falls into two parts; there is the part that belongs to the routine, the drudgery and the business of the world; and there is the part that is left over and remains free for indulgence in the joys and the luxuries of existence. We desire to make the first portion run as smoothly and as efficiently as possible; while we give to the other all the value and richness and variation circumstances allow. To oil the mechanism of civilisation and to reveal those hidden stores of treasure which the world contains, this, in brief, is the ideal of life. In this great work, the work of all the ages, education must co-operate.

To the first part of life, which is concerned with the drudgery inseparable from the provision of the bare necessities of existence, belongs the bulk of the worries and suffering to which flesh is heir. Now there is a kindly person, a sort of fairy godmother, who, if duly approached and properly courted, is willing to take on her shoulders the burden of most of this dreary routine-work; her name is Habit. With her as friend, tasks at the

first onset irksome or even painful, lose their unpleasantness, not indeed because there is no longer any call for their performance, but because this performance ceases to excite distaste. They are carried on mechanically, and consciousness is not required to superintend their execution. Every child then needs, early in his career, to make the acquaintance of this fairy godmother and secure her goodwill; in other words, he must acquire a store of useful habits which, almost of their own momentum, will drive forward without trouble the wheel of life.

But, not unlike other benevolent old ladies, the fairy godmother of habit is apt to develop into an exacting tyrant. If too free a hand is given to her requirements, we doubtless escape much weariness and pain, but we lose at the same time many possibilities of happiness and sink to the level of an ingenious piece of mechanism. To bring under the yoke of habit all that belongs to the routine of existence is the way of wisdom, but to bring under the yoke of routine all that belongs to existence is the sign-mark of the fool. We should have our times when we can shake off the yoke of habit and, divesting ourselves of that drowsy consciousness which accompanies automatic action, take our fate into our own hands as persons of initiating energy and individualising thought. These periods of freedom, when we are our own masters, are pregnant with possibilities of happiness. They are, so to speak, the blank cheques of life which we can fill in with what figures we please, provided that the bank of self has sufficient balance at its disposal to cash them in the currency of real enjoyment.

The extent of a man's balance depends on the extent to which his interests are developed. Hours of leisure, which remain hours of emptiness because there is nothing to fill them, are only a weariness of the flesh. We should therefore see to it that the school sends the child out into the world well equipped with a varied store of interests. There is here no intention of asserting that work and tedium go ever hand in hand, but for the many this is so nearly true that we shall do well to ignore exceptions.

Finally, interests tend to wear themselves out and pass under the yoke of habit and so cease to be interests, unless constantly stimulated by the inflowing of fresh material. To keep the old interests alive by developing them in new directions and to weave new interests out of the web of experience, the power to do this is among the choicest of the possessions of mankind. The faculty which makes life tingle and glow, which inspires into the meanest surroundings a spirit of romance, and which creates an ideal world out of the sordid trappings and the pitiless flux of material things, is the faculty of imagination. Imagination, then, is the third of the gifts which the child craves of the school.

A child who leaves school, bearing in his satchel a goodly store of serviceable habits, bids fair to become an efficient member of society. If in addition he possess a many-sided interest and a strongly developed faculty of imagination, he carries with him a magic wand, potent to transform the world of his experience.

Habits, interests, imagination—these do not indeed represent the whole harvest of education,

but they define the sphere where the influence of the school is most effective and beneficent. Their culture goes a long way in the direction of moral training, and if it fail to provide the qualities required in some special industry, it at least supplies those qualities which all occupations demand in common. Other and subsidiary themes will be discussed later, but for the present, in the cause of clarity and concentration, it will be useful to look at the elementary school as a place where habits and interests are acquired and where the faculty of imagination is developed.

(2.) *Habits.*

Anyone who feels inclined to question or to deny the importance of the part played by habit in the work of life, should turn to the wonderful chapter on the subject contained in the first volume of William James's *Psychology*, and he will find all his doubts scattered to the winds. "Habit," says that author—

"is the enormous fly-wheel of society, its most precious conservative agent. It alone is what keeps us all within the bounds of ordinance, and saves the children of fortune from the envious uprisings of the poor. It alone prevents the hardest and most repulsive walks of life from being deserted by those brought up to tread therein. It keeps the fisherman and the deck-hand at sea through the winter; it holds the miner in his darkness, and nails the countryman to his log cabin and his lonely farm through all the months of snow; it protects us from invasion by the natives of the desert and the frozen zone. It dooms us all to fight out the battle of life upon the lines of our nurture and our early choice and to make the best of a pursuit that disagrees, because there is no other for which

we are fitted, and it is too late to begin again. . . . The great thing then in all education is to make our nervous system our ally instead of our enemy. It is to fund and capitalise our acquisitions, and live at ease upon the interest of the fund. For this we must make automatic and habitual, as early as possible, as many useful actions as we can, and guard against the growing into ways that are likely to be disadvantageous to us, as we should guard against the plague. The more of the details of our daily life we can hand over to the effortless custody of automatism, the more our higher powers of mind will be set free for their own proper work. There is no more miserable human being than one in whom nothing is habitual but indecision, and for whom the lighting of every cigar, the drinking of every cup, the time of rising and going to bed every day, and the beginning of every bit of work, are subjects of express volitional deliberation. Full half the time of such a man goes to the deciding, or regretting, of matters which ought to be so ingrained in him as practically not to exist for his consciousness at all. If there be such daily duties not yet ingrained in any of my readers, let him begin this very hour to set the matter right."

The whole chapter, for its brilliant insight into the machinery of existence, for its common sense and humour, and for its many passages of real eloquence, is worthy of being printed in a pamphlet in order to be presented to every teacher, on leaving the training college, as the testament and gospel of his profession.

Habits are acquired by repeated performance and assiduous practice; they are not the result of verbal instruction. This fact must be regarded as not the least of their many titles to praise, and should enlist on their behalf the goodwill of the teacher. For he has no need to consider whether

the children are attending to the lesson or to ascertain whether they grasp his meaning. Due execution is the sole test of success, and no test can be applied more easily. Take care of the actions and the habits will take care of themselves. As soon as the habit is formed all trouble is over; an automatic mechanism, fired by the appearance of the proper stimulus, superintends the whole business and guarantees the desired regularity of conduct.

Habits are most easily learned during childhood. The springtime of life is the most propitious period for their cultivation. The ground is soft and easily tilled, and has acquired no set of its own. When the summer sun of later years has baked the soil and hardened it into rigid lumps, it is no longer pliable, can be moved with difficulty, and does not retain with tenacity the form impressed upon it.

Finally, there is no escaping from the moulding force of habits. If the teacher hold his hand, the environment cannot be induced to follow his example. Now the environment, just because of its uniform action and persistent presence, is a most potent influence in promoting the growth of habit. The alternative then lies, not between a ruler or no ruler, but between a beneficent governor of our own choosing and an arbitrary despot selected for us by the unthinking powers of the world. Whatever, therefore, the character of the child's training, he cannot escape the domination of habit; the question of importance is confined to the problem of considering the number and the nature of the habits he should acquire. If these habits of childhood are also of service in the career of the man, there will be fewer jars and strains, and less irritating

friction in the passage from youth to maturity. The work of existence will have been begun well, and the propitious start will be an earnest of future success. We must therefore ascertain what habits are best adapted to meet the needs of modern civilisation.

Perhaps the chief characteristic of the new world, as compared with the old, is to be found in the increased demand for regularity. Just as the machine is the most typical product of civilisation, so its regular motion is the visible symbol of the civilising process. The more regularity, the more civilisation; appointed tasks executed at appointed times—this is the watchword of progress and the keynote of efficiency. The man, who comes late to the factory or plays truant, keeps men and engines standing idle, and so disorganises the business of the workshop. He is a necessary wheel in a piece of intricate mechanism which refuses to start until every part is in its proper place. The system of employing spare men to act as substitutes for defaulters is merely an extravagant device to minimise the evils of irregularity. A highly organised system, in which every unit is indispensable and no unit superfluous, represents the ideal type of industrial organisation. A man hoeing turnips in a field, in remote isolation from his neighbours—this is the picture of the age that has passed away. The turnip-hoer could take up or drop his hoe, according as pleased him best, without hindering or stopping the work of the others.

Now there are not wanting men who dream of a return to this turnip-hoeing epoch. They inveigh

in shrill tones against the mechanical tendencies of modern life and denounce the cold-blooded tyranny of routine. But this dream is a delusion and the complaint without foundation in fact. The more regular industrial operations are made, the more they become a matter of habit; and the more they become a matter of habit, the less acutely do men feel the pain and the drudgery involved. We cannot escape the tasks with which pain and drudgery are associated—they are too closely woven into the scheme of existence. We cannot, at any rate for the present, infuse into them an atmosphere of joy and exhilaration. But we can at least relegate their performance to the department of the unconscious. Moreover, where unpleasant duties must be done, it is a clear gain, from every point of view, if they must be done here and now. Procrastination may be the thief of time; it is certainly the prolific parent of irritating worries and the deadly enemy of all peace of mind. The mere fact of the turnip-hoer being able to take up or drop his work when he pleased, rendered its execution a matter of continual effort. He could undoubtedly enjoy rest when he chose, but each period of rest entailed a new beginning, and each new beginning was fraught with new unpleasantness.

The first lesson, then, that the child must learn is the lesson of regularity; and he must learn it until the regularity has become a habit. Punctual attendance at school, the performance of certain tasks at definite hours and within fixed periods—this is the end to be secured. The means of attaining this goal are comparatively unimportant, and the motive matters little. See that the re-

gularity is obtained and the habit will come of itself; and the habit when formed will be its own motive. But avoid all exceptions to the rule; for exceptions, however plausible, are the poison of habits; and habits will never flourish in an atmosphere of uncertainty.

Closely connected with the habit of regularity is the habit of accuracy. Accuracy is the second characteristic of the machine. A little roughness in the castings makes the whole jolt intolerably; a fly-wheel, not perfectly true, bursts into pieces and carries destruction among the workmen. The nut that won't fit, the drawer that won't pull out, the window that sticks and won't open—how much loss of temper and energy are here involved? From petty worries to devastating calamities, everywhere we can trace the fruits of negligence. The ideal organisation of society demands an assurance for the accuracy of each man's work. Precautions against carelessness are among the most extravagant forms of unnecessary waste.

Whatever task is set the child, let the teacher insist on its accurate performance before it is left. There is an unfortunate tendency nowadays to protest against a demand for "mere mechanical accuracy." It is urged that this accuracy can only be secured by an expenditure of time which might be employed better in other ways. Continual harping on a single note kills interest, and incessant grind breeds a disgust for the subject. The complaint, however, is largely due to a misunderstanding. It is, no doubt, true that if you desire the child to be early initiated into the mysteries of the more

intricate and lengthy processes of mathematics, and at the same time require accuracy in the results, repeated practice, well calculated to cause a weariness of the whole business, can scarce be avoided. But the fault lies not in the demand for accuracy but in the demand for the performance of exercises which are beyond the capacity of many, while they strain the powers of all the pupils. Let the task lie within the easy compass of the child's ability, and only good will come if stress be laid on accuracy. For, from the standpoint of morality, accuracy plays a large part in the virtue of truthfulness. A child, accustomed to recognise the importance of details and to regard a careless mistake as a musician would a wrong note, will carry out into the world not the least unimportant of the qualities which command success. Insist then on accuracy in all that is done, until the mere fact of error, whether visible or invisible to others, is in itself a source of pain; in other words, insist on accuracy until accuracy has become a habit.

The third of the three most essential habits required in the world's work is the habit of prompt obedience rendered to any person, who, for the time being, occupies a position of superiority. Whatever changes may accompany the progress of democracy, one feature of the old régime will inevitably remain: the few only will command while the many must obey. The more automatic the obedience, the easier and the pleasanter will be the life of the many, the more fruitful the work of the few. The master orders the foreman, the foreman orders the labourer, while the labourer

orders the boy. Immediate and willing response, in every link of this series, is the necessary condition of real efficiency, and at the same time the sole method of avoiding the irksome and irritating feeling of submission. The person who resents a command, who questions the right of another to control his actions, and who obeys with grudging reluctance, is not only a useless member of society, but is also a very discontented and unhappy man. The teacher is for the time being the child's superior; let him therefore see that he secures a ready and cheerful obedience. Obedience will not become willing—human nature is so constituted—until the assistance of the fairy godmother of habit has been invoked.

One other point must not be dropt out of sight. Just as all regulation has as its end the creation of a more widely diffused freedom, so obedience is merely the frame for the display of more individualised action. We must therefore be careful to select a frame suitable to the picture, and must beware of allowing the frame to straggle over and smother the picture itself. Useless commands, unpleasant restrictions, and petty though harassing rules, imposed merely in order to exhibit the teacher's power of discipline and to break down the natural enterprise of the boy, must all be avoided. The normal organisation of the school, with the obvious need of the control of the individual in the interest of the community, provides in itself a sufficiently fertile soil for the growth of the habit, without any appeal to adventitious and extraneous fertilising agencies.

Another habit, less easy to cultivate because less

easy to test, is the habit of attention. Attention, regarded as it often is, as a sort of continuous and conscious effort, is impossible. Conscious effort is the inveterate foe of good work. For the consciousness of the effort is one thing, and the consciousness of the work going on is another. But whenever any new task is about to be commenced, there comes a demand for sudden concentration. Wool-gathering wits must be called in; the various eddies and back-washes of thought, however interesting in themselves, must be disregarded, while the associations and ideas cognate to the subject must be summoned up from out the vasty deeps of the mind. The stream of thought, which has been flowing tranquilly in one direction, must be dammed back and turned into another and more appropriate channel.

The main difficulty lies in the work of damming back. This may happen in one or other of two ways: the one to be avoided and the other to be encouraged. The first may be called the desultory method. There is an essay to be written, and I take up a pen and write down the title. A small trickle of ideas enters the right channel, but the main stream still flows in another direction. I glance out of the window and think how pleasant and cool is the garden and how hot and stuffy my room. I watch a cat washing its face, or a squirrel climbing a tree. Then perhaps a sentence is jerked out and the trickle increases, but the momentum of the main body of ideas has not been stopped. Gradually, as interest in the theme develops, the other channels become silted up, the calls of the outside world grow less insistent, and the whole stream at last surges down the appropriate course.

But this is a lengthy process and involves a considerable waste of time. The second and better method requires a single spasmodic effort. The diffuse stream is dammed back as by the sudden fall of a sluice-gate, while the right channel is simultaneously opened, and the flush of thought is discharged along it. The momentary impulse makes the break; after this the interest of the subject and the routine of habit must do the rest. To be able to plunge into the work without any preliminary and dilatory trembling on the bank, is a very valuable asset in the sum total of our mental equipage. Some people are capable only of the desultory method, others—and these in general the more efficient—belong to the type distinguished by an ability to invoke the spasmodic impulse. Doubtless constitutional differences play some part in the result, but doubtless, also, practice and training are the most important factors. The school then must cultivate the spasmodic impulse type of attention.

Now in justice to the teacher it must be said that he does endeavour to secure the spasmodic impulse type of attention. But in spite of the important place allotted to the subject in all manuals of educational method, there is good reason to believe that the essential point has often been missed. The teacher is warned of the need of "preparation" (is not this the proper technical term?). He is exhorted to employ a dramatic signal or throw in a startling remark at the outset of each new lesson, in order to gather in the flock of fluttering thoughts and confine them safely within the prescribed fold of the subject. As a school device, rendered necessary on account of large classes, and in the case of young

children, this method of securing attention is perhaps capable of defence. But it must never be forgotten that, as a training to be used outside the walls of the school, it cannot be regarded as possessing any very exalted value. Nature and the world do not, as a general rule, indulge in elaborate "preparations"; they do not usually provide a dramatic signal when they require a task to be performed. The task is there; but if it fail to attract the necessary attention it will be taken in hand slowly, after the manner of the desultory method, or may even be entirely neglected.

We must ask something more of the teacher; we require not merely attention, as the result of some theatrical sign, we require attention even in the absence of this artificial aid. The mere appearance of the work must be its own signal; it must touch the handle that drops the sluice-gate and dams back the flood of alien thoughts. Speed tests or tasks, to be performed within a certain time or finished out of school-hours, show whether success has been achieved, and perhaps indicate the right road to follow. At any rate, all artificial methods of preparation should be dispensed with in the upper standards. But these are matters which must be left to the experience of the teacher. The man in the street wants attention of the spasmodic impulse type.

Closely related to the habit of attention, partly as cause and partly as effect, is the habit of order. The success of industrial operations is due largely to the extent of co-operation and co-ordination to be found among the workmen. Individual idiosyn-

crasies must be held in check, rude corners and rough edges must be rounded off, and men, while attending to their own business, must at the same time be sufficiently attentive to the business of others to avoid causing confusion. Now, any well-managed school is the embodiment of a certain type of order. In the drill, in the marching up and down stairs, and in other concerted exercises, we see the children developing a habit of order. But this order is of a limited character and extends only to working with others when all are engaged in the same task.

But there is another side to this training in order, harder indeed to secure, but of more permanent value; it has been called the habit of orderly disorder. In the market-place of life we are not all doing the same thing at the same moment. In general many different occupations are being carried on side by side, and we must learn to perform our duty effectively without interrupting others, and at the same time without being ourselves interrupted by their activity. Now the ordinary collective discipline of a school fails as a rule to provide this kind of training. The children can work together when all are carrying on similar tasks; they can work well in a hushed silence; but attention and concentration slacken when any noise supervenes. It would be wise, at any rate in the upper standards, to expose the children to a less artificial atmosphere, to leave them more to their own devices, and to give them an opportunity of exhibiting a greater degree of spontaneity. It is not necessary that all should move together with the rhythmic march of the military; it is not essential that a hand should be held up before a child is permitted to leave his

place; it is not even desirable that the whole class should be engaged in the same lesson and at the same point of the lesson; it is perhaps conceivable that a little hushed conversation between two boys need not be regarded as a heinous offence. Careful observers who have visited American schools have usually been surprised to see how large a part is there played by this kind of orderly disorder; and they are usually unanimous in finding the results altogether beneficial.

Complaints often come from the workshop and the house of business that the children, when they leave the elementary schools, are unable to write clearly or perform with success the simplest arithmetical calculations. After making due allowance for exaggeration, and after discounting the effect of the dislike of the education rate, there probably remains a residuum of truth in the charge. But when the complainant beats about for reasons, he is usually at fault. He generally dilates on the advanced character of the curriculum and the contemptuous neglect of the elementary subjects. Now, as a matter of fact, writing and arithmetic have sufficient time allotted to them and are taught with success, so far as the success is tested only within the walls of the school. But the conditions differ widely outside. The boy has been accustomed to work amid silence; he is now plunged into an atmosphere of subdued, if not unmitigated noise. He has been used to seeing his neighbours performing the same operation; he now finds himself in the confusion of many men occupied with various duties. It is not therefore surprising that at the outset he should fail to do justice to his real

capacity. The school must not be looked on as an end in itself. By slow degrees the elder children must be taught to perform their tasks under such conditions as later life provides; they must therefore acquire the habit of orderly disorder.

It is true that to a stray visitor, like an inspector, the decorum and the charm of rhythmic discipline will be less apparent. But schools do not exist to supply an inspector with a succession of pleasing sensations. So long as the task in hand is done, and done well, he need not be troubled if the accompaniments are less harmonious to the eye or less soothing to the ear. The sole test in after-life is the test of work accomplished; and we shall do well not to import into the school other and irrelevant standards of gauging results. Real disorder bears on its face the mark of failure, but orderly disorder, just as much as rigid discipline, is consistent with admirable progress. Two factors are concerned: we must have the habit of attending to our own business in the midst of many other operations, while at the same time we are not so unconscious of what is going on around as to be ourselves a source of interruption and annoyance.

Of the habits, already passed in review, it may in general be said that the conditions of modern life not only require their formation, but also play an active part in their culture. They are habits which must, at any rate to some extent, be acquired by all save the wastrels of civilisation. The school training, so far as it has yet been considered, does not develop faculties which would otherwise have remained dormant; it merely eases the passage from

childhood to maturity, lessens the dangers of the transition and turns well-trimmed sails to the breezes of the wider life.

But there remains to be considered another habit, which does not belong to this category. Though required every moment of the day, it finds its most bitter foe in the environment of a town: it is the habit of self-control. A deliberate slowness in action was once the characteristic of the Englishman. He would look round a situation before he leapt into it; he would turn a matter over before cutting it in two. This quality has of late years been less in evidence, and bids fair to vanish altogether. Perhaps the most remarkable effect of an urban environment is to be sought in the disappearance of the habit of self-control. Few careful observers have failed to notice the change. The crowd of a town in a moment flashes into a delirious mob, and, swept away on a torrent of excitement and reckless of appearance, plunges into acts of unmitigated folly. The invention of the new term "Mafficking" is alone sufficient to indicate the extent of the transformation.

The cramped discomfort of the home, with its troupe of noisy children and babel of confused sound, the intoxicating effect of the mere numbers who throng the streets, the absence of any safety-valve to allow superfluous energy to escape, and the craving to break for a time the bonds of an insistent monotony, all serve to call into being forces which in old and young alike breed a wild spirit of unrest. Nerves are ever on the strain; with sears filed down by the friction of ceaseless traffic along the chords, they give rise to action on the most trifling occasion,

exploding like a pistol at the mere touch of the hair-trigger. In face of the vast population, penned within the walls of a city, such possibilities of unpremeditated violence constitute a standing menace to the general welfare.

To bring back, in some measure, the traditional self-control of the race must be regarded as not the least important of the many tasks we lay upon the modern schoolmaster. The wonderful calm of the Japanese is generally attributed to the effect of early training. Their children are deliberately placed in a difficult position and held there, so to speak, until they have had time for reflection. Like other habits, the habit of self-control is acquired only by exercise. Is it too much to suppose that the invention of devices, similar in character to those employed by the people of Japan, is not altogether beyond the range of pedagogical ingenuity?

The habits we have been asking the schoolteacher to encourage may perhaps be called habits of accommodation and habits of content. If acquired, they enable the child to slide, with the minimum of friction and the maximum of efficiency, into his place in the complex organisation of the modern city. They discount the shock of transition and forestall the discomforts of mature life, by securing that immunity to suffering which is bred of custom, be the surroundings never so distressing. But the matter cannot well be left there; and further demands must be made on the school. The child must not only adapt himself to the environment, he must also be, in his own person, a force active in the transformation of that environment. Passive

acquiescence in things as they are offers the most stubborn resistance to the appearance of things as they ought to be. Patient endurance of the inevitable is a sign of wisdom, but patient endurance of the unnecessary is the keynote of folly and the most fatal cause of stagnation. In the economy of society much irritates and pains, but must be borne with equanimity, because incapable of cure; but many of the more glaring evils are of our own brewing and can therefore be removed. We must not only oil the machinery of life, so that it may move without noise, but we must also occasionally put grit in the works in order that the jolts and stoppages caused may direct attention to the mechanism and expose faults which have hitherto gone unnoticed. We want habits of accommodation and habits of content, but we stand equally in need of habits of resistance and habits of dissatisfaction. Just as an old habit is the friend of apathy and the foe of change, so a new habit is the foe of stagnation and the friend of reform. Where habits fall out, things come by their rights, or, at any rate, are given the opportunity of reaching this desirable goal. A freshly-acquired habit, like a wasp, carries a sting in its tail and, like that insect, banishes by its irritating presence all trace of drowsiness. If, therefore, certain customs and practices, habitual among the old, are seen to be fraught with unnecessary suffering, they are best uprooted by cultivating among the young habits of an opposite and hostile character. The subject admits of considerable amplification, but the exigencies of space must confine the discussions within the limits of a single example.

A stranger, who for the first time wanders among the streets of a town and explores the homes of the ghetto, is generally seized with a feeling of heavy depression, which grows more leadlike in its inert weight with every step of his journey. To explain the cause of this sensation is not an altogether easy task. It is not the result of the actual suffering he encounters, nor is it roused by any spectacle of vice or crime. It has not its origin in any one object, but lurks in the atmosphere and seems to be a sort of essence distilled from the varied sensations inspired by the surroundings. The general air of dilapidation about the streets and buildings; the houses in their garb of sombre yellow and grey, with cracked window-panes and smoke-stained doors, where the paint flakes off and leaves ragged blotches of naked wood; the pools of stagnant water in the road; the garbage of paper and vegetables gathered in the gutter; the children loosely attached to portions of the pavement, clad in a miscellaneous selection of miscellaneous garments, splitting at the seams, gaping at the back, tags and ends hanging out in all directions, colours clashing furiously with colours—everything smeared with the dirt of neglect and the neglect of dirt—these are the scattered fragments which go to make up the picture and give to it a characteristic tone. Within the houses the same note rings out in dull and dreary reverberation. Squalor, untidiness and a shabby disorder are the features that catch the attention. A lack of taste, a carelessness about the domestic arrangements—meals are served anyhow and eaten anywhere—unrestrained manners, a total absence of all that makes for decent order, not to say beauty,

these are the familiar accompaniments of the home; and no one appears to imagine that there is anything wanting. Uncleanliness, perhaps better than any other term, most aptly describes the prevailing feature of the whole.

Now, an observation of selected streets and selected houses in most streets, where a spirit of refreshing comfort and pleasing simplicity is found, proves that this demon of the dilapidated can be banned, and shows that uncleanliness is not indissolubly associated with the affairs of the ghetto. Nothing presents a more forbidding obstacle to the enjoyment of the higher pleasures than does this adventitious irruption of uncleanliness. The note of discord between the two is so insistent that the one or the other must be driven into silence.

Habit must be countered by habit; a habit of uncleanliness must be uprooted by securing the presence of the opposing habit of cleanliness. Accustom children to the pleasures of the latter, and they will no longer tolerate the discomforts of the former. They will rebel against the conditions which prevail in their homes, and, as the true rulers of the family, will do much to effect the desired transformation.

The school then must endeavour to cultivate a habit of cleanliness. See that the boys and girls come to school with clean faces and hands, and encourage neatness in dress. No one who has watched the amazing change produced on the personal appearance of the children by the patient energy of a single head-teacher in a poor school can entertain any doubt of the beneficial influence exerted by persistent worrying. Visits of trained

nurses will help to eradicate the more outrageous forms of dirt. The London County Council has recently instituted a scheme for carrying out such an inspection. Parents of children infested with vermin are informed of the fact and instructed how to get rid of the evil. If they neglect to follow the advice given, the children are excluded and the parents prosecuted for not sending the children in a fit state to attend school. It is rarely necessary to adopt such extreme measures, and the preliminary notice is generally sufficient to secure the desired result.

Next, the school buildings should stand in effective contrast with the normal home. Let the spaciousness be ample, the lighting brilliant, and the cleanliness not merely of that negative character implied by the absence of dirt, but let it stare at you startlingly from the walls. Ancient pictures, tattered and faded maps, ragged text-books, ink-stained desks, turbid windows—away with them all.

Years ago Germany instituted in her schools a system of shower-baths, and at present all new schools are equipped with the necessary apparatus. Every child has a bath each week. The practice has been attended with admirable results, and the example set has been followed by most of the Continental nations. England stands almost alone in making no attempt to encourage this form of cleanliness. In London a single installation, presented by a private donor, exhausts the extent of her activity. We ought to do something to remove this cause of reproach. The cost is small—a penny a bath is an outside estimate; and the time required—thirty minutes for a whole class—does not seriously en-

croach on the hours of the school time-table. Indeed, with advantage, seeing that cleanliness is next to godliness, a bath might occasionally be substituted for the day's scripture lesson.

An influence, second to none in encouraging the habit in question, will be found in the institution of the midday meal, already advocated. Here all the arrangements, while distinguished by extreme simplicity, will be carried out in a spirit of perfect order. Cloths will be scrupulously white, the food will be served in a cleanly manner, the children perhaps waiting in turn on one another, and a few flowers or leaves will decorate the table. Under such conditions good manners will follow almost without any attempt to secure their presence.

In short, drive home by every means and on every possible occasion this habit of cleanliness. Its absence is the source of more discomfort and squalid misery than is generally imagined; its presence will exercise a beneficent influence, difficult to overestimate, on the health and the happiness of the generation now creeping toward the light.

(3.) *Interests.*

It is probable that there are many readers who have viewed, not altogether with approval, the suggested extension of the domain of habit and have found much to condemn in the deliberate attempt made to increase the mechanical aspect of existence. Is the last, like the first, product of civilisation to be an automatic and ingeniously-constructed machine? May we not look forward to a time when every task shall be pleasant; may we not anticipate a heaven on earth, "where all life

is work and all work play"? There is, of course, nothing to prevent us from hoping what we like, and it is always advisable to like what we hope. But we must occasionally face realities, when we desire reform, and not feed only on dreams.

Drudgery and routine are woven into the fabric of the world; necessary duties must be performed by someone; fine or wet, the postman must leave the letters and the milkman deliver the milk; ill or well, the mother must attend to the affairs of home. There are streets and drains to be cleansed, animals to be slain, engines to be stoked. If we pass to the higher professions there is no evading this law of life. Even the artist cannot avoid the tedium of mechanical operations. In the course of his creations he has indeed his moments of rapture, but they are rare, and stand out like brilliant oases, interspaced by a weary desert of tedium and monotony. But men do not toil to-day merely to have the privilege of toiling again to-morrow. There are hours of work, but there are also hours of leisure, and to fill the one with the enjoyment of a man is as important as to fill the other with the efficiency of a machine. Life is made or marred as much by its leisure as by its work. Enough attention has not been paid to the subject of recreation; in our effort to make existence possible we have neglected to make it worth living. We have regarded the earth as a sort of gigantic factory, churning out, amid much rattle and confusion, the bare modicum of our daily bread.

In the present fantastic distribution of this world's goods, it is not surprising that the needs rather than the luxuries of existence have loomed

most largely in the thoughts of men, though it is none the less a truth to be deplored. In spite of the fact that hours of labour have been shortened, conditions of work improved and wages raised, it is probable that the general effect, measured in terms of happiness and well-being, is altogether disproportionate to the sanguine expectations of a generation ago. Tastes have not multiplied as rapidly as the means of their gratification; interests have not kept pace with the possibilities of their indulgence. Men have been at a loss how to use their more generous leisure or how to spend with profit their increased earnings. In consequence, when the factory is closed, time has hung heavy on the hands of the artisan; he dozes by the fireside, drifts to the public-house, or, in the effort to secure more pungent sensations, turns in desperation to the betting and the gambling saloon. The evil of modern civilisation is to be sought not in the monotony of its work but in the monotony of its leisure.

We want, therefore, more from our schools than a training in habits; a training in interests is equally essential. Now, man is a wonderfully-fashioned creature, equipped with a multiplicity of diverse tastes. He can find an enthralling interest in numberless things; from postage stamps to the universe itself, there is nothing which may not prove a source of pungent enjoyment. But if he is destined to gather in any portion of this possible harvest, certain conditions must be fulfilled. The tastes must not be neglected while he is a child, or they will wither for lack of nutriment and never reach maturity. Further, since one man's meat is another man's poison, he must be given the oppor-

tunity to turn over and ransack a well-assorted selection of potential interests, until the one object of dear desire leaps out and fastens on his fancy.

The school, then, must be regarded as a rich treasure-house of such possibilities. Its curriculum must therefore be enlarged rather than curtailed, since in variety lies the essence of the matter. The mere pieces of knowledge a boy packs away in his brain are of slight importance; all turns on the interests they excite. He will never climb the stairs of memory and fetch down from the dusty attic of his mind the antique furniture stored there in days gone by, unless some peculiar fascination has gathered round it in his youth and leads him to its hiding-place.

The curriculum therefore must be planned and carried out with the avowed object of creating and developing interests. The acquisition of knowledge must be treated as a secondary consideration and regarded as the natural outcome of the growth of interest. Knowledge, unillumined by interest, lies heavy on the mind, an inert and useless weight. For a similar reason we need not harass ourselves with the question of training the mind—that final plea of despair advanced by supporters of the Classics, analytical grammarians and other defenders of the indefensible. The acquisition of knowledge and the training of the mind are by-products of all successful teaching and, if we pay due attention to the interests, may well be left to take care of themselves.

In considering the question of interests we must be careful to bear in mind the same principle

that was followed when habits were under discussion. The life of the school is continuous with the life of the world, the first is a preparation for the second, and the contact between the two must always be kept real and living. We must not produce in the schools conditions which can exist only there; or, when schooldays are over, the effect of the lessons will come to an end at the same time. Theories of education as well as practice have often come to grief because this consideration has been dropped out of mind. Men have brought into the school an atmosphere sometimes stimulating, sometimes pleasant, but essentially artificial. There has been a tendency to fall into one or other of two errors.

On the one hand there are the teachers of the old type. To their credit be it said, they have always regarded the school training of the child as a preparation for the work of the man, but have unfortunately misconstrued the lessons of experience and have in imagination built up an adult world which has no real existence in fact. It was once the practice—and the habit has not altogether disappeared—to prescribe certain dull tasks not because they could boast any useful application, but merely because their inherent wearisomeness was supposed to confer on them a peculiar value. Life, they urged, involves drudgery; the sooner therefore the children become accustomed to drudgery the better. Now life does undoubtedly demand from us the performance of many unpleasant duties, but life has never yet been charged with requiring a drudgery which is at once painful and entirely aimless. Drudgery there is, but it

always leads somewhere and gets something, from a night's lodging to a house in Park Lane. It is therefore a work of supererogation to become in our childhood habituated to conditions which will not confront us in later years. There is, as will appear later, a half truth in the plea advanced; but carried out as it occasionally is, it sounds the death-knell of interest. Interest can indeed kill drudgery; but drudgery can also kill interest. We must therefore beware of inverting the relation, and ought not to drag along the horse of interest in the stifling dust raised by the lumbering motor of wearisome and purposeless instruction.

To a large extent we have shaken off this notion of drudgery for drudgery's sake; but in doing so we have passed to the other extreme, and are apt to condemn outright the association of any sort of drudgery with the work of the school. There is developing in this country, as there has long since developed in the United States, a kind of trashy sentiment in matters of education. Men believe that the whole process of learning should be made easy and delightful, while the schoolroom should take on itself the characteristics of the playfield, and every lesson be made a source of novel and stimulating recreation. Any subject which requires serious effort stands self-condemned. The child must not be troubled with such lessons, unless they can be rendered appetising by the seasoning of jocular treatment or by the forced introduction of irrelevant interest. Metaphorical sugar-plums are used to flavour instruction in the principles of arithmetic, while the assumption, on the part of the teacher, of an inane silliness, is frequently supposed

to promote a desire among the pupils to learn to read and to write. These are merely typical examples of a process which threatens to invade the whole province ef education.

Now with very young infants such a practice can perhaps be defended, but there are not wanting signs of an attempt to introduce these methods among the older children. It is undoubtedly true that the school can by these means be made a fascinating spot, and learning a charming form of amusement. Instruction is given without the child knowing that he is being taught, and ceases the moment he shows signs of weariness. Thus, in an atmosphere of honeyed benevolence, the hours spent in this Garden of Eden are passed in unbroken happiness. He is good because he has no desire to be otherwise, and there is no forbidden fruit. Nevertheless the angel of growing years stands at the gate; the wilderness lies beyond and he must soon enter therein, leaving behind this peaceful paradise and taking with him only a sorry garment of fig-leaves to protect his tender body against the thorns that flourish outside.

Training of this kind possesses little or no value; and it is not surprising if children, submitted to its enervating influence, fail to continue their studies when confronted by the different and harder conditions of the world outside the school. So long as the life of the grown man calls for effort, so long must the education of the child contain some corresponding element of strenuous endeavour.

Learning, regarded as a process and taken alone, is always unpleasant by reason of the effort required. It can only be rendered tolerable by the

thick cluster of interests which cling to any particular lesson, or by the proof of its connection with some desirable end. In forming a curriculum we must at first select the subjects which have a natural attraction for the child, because they tell him the sort of things he wants to know, or teach him the sort of things he wants to do. Later, when he has come to see that the fruits of learning and pleasure go hand in hand, we may introduce subjects which, though distasteful or tedious in themselves, he will be induced to master in the faith that the final result will justify the weariness of the earlier steps. Thus a general interest in learning will accrue because special interests have been associated with each of the stages and each of the subjects.

I start with the assumption that the world, even the world of the town, is a place scintillating with sparks of interest. If we find that world insipid and colourless, it is because our eyes are blind to the wonders contained therein. To ensure that the child enters into possession of that rich heritage which is not his by birth, but which may be made his by training, this is an aim which the teacher must never allow to slip from his memory. To transform the environment by transforming the child who looks at it, this is one of those realisable ideals which should loom large in the arsenal of pedagogic exhortation.

Psychologists tell us that the volume of interest aroused at any moment depends largely on the number of the different senses the subject concerned can call to its aid. The more activities we can en-

list in the service of a lesson, the more pregnant will be its meaning and the more lasting its effect. Book-learning must, so far as is possible, be supplemented by an appeal to the senses; let the child see things, hear things, do things; every new faculty we drag in will be a fresh light flashed on the scene, and add to the general illumination. Interests are innumerable, and their selection concerns rather the trained teacher than the layman, but by way of illustration a few may perhaps be mentioned.

There is first the geographical interest, the interest the child feels or may be taught to feel in the world as his home and, in particular, in the town or the village where he lives. The pleasure caused by hearing of foreign lands is faint and remote, and depends on the extent to which the faculty of imagination has been developed. But the places he sees with his own eyes are instinct with that vivid colouring and radiate that warmth of familiarity which only actual experience can give. Few days are for him richer in real happiness than those spent in an expedition to some hitherto unvisited spot. Let us have, then, geographical teaching given out-of-doors; let classes make regular excursions into the country with the definite object of converting into visible form the substance of previous lessons. A single trip to St James's Park would, for example, bring home to a child the meaning of islands and capes and bays more clearly than a week of lectures or a volume of diagrams. 'Busses, trams, railways, public buildings, all the incidents and sights of the journey, would be so many object-lessons, instructive in themselves

and rich in their power of illumining the sombre verbiage of conventional geography. Through the door of the eyes streams into the mind the densest and most animated crowd of interests; let us therefore keep that door wide open and not close it by a mere table of contents.

We want a visible geography; for the same reason we want a visible history. Whatever is taught concerning the past, let it appear merely as a background throwing into clearer relief the scenes of the present. Picture galleries, ancient buildings and places of historic interest are so many materialised embodiments of the past; and visits to such places should be made part of the ordinary curriculum of the school. In this way the past will no longer remain a mere catalogue of dead and unstimulating events, nor will the present be left, as now, suspended in a position of detached isolation.

Then there is the political interest. Nothing rouses keener excitement among children than the occurrence of a contested election. Here, therefore, is a golden opportunity for driving home lessons on the meaning of the ballot and the significance of popular representation. At a recent election an ingenious master in a London school seized the occasion to hold a miniature election within the school, with all the paraphernalia of ballot-boxes, voters, returning officers and candidates. The "City School" of the United States, whose discipline is largely in the hands of boys elected by their fellows, is merely a more elaborate device to reveal the mysteries of government in a visible, and consequently effective, manner.

Further, there is the interest in the industrial

organisation of the town. Lessons on the trades of the neighbourhood and visits paid to workshops will, because associated with the interests of later life, form not the least important part of the school curriculum.

Nor must the child's "Why, why" be allowed to die still-born, or, as more often happens, be choked by a plethora of unsuitable and indigestible material. Under the old régime the teacher thought right to check the child's spirit of natural curiosity by refusing answers; under the new, in his eagerness to avoid this error, he is apt to go to the other extreme and produce the same effect by the prolix and the informing nature of his replies. In his effort to be exhaustive he frequently ends by being exhausting.

The complex equipment of the school laboratory, the manipulation of intricate apparatus, the infinitely wearisome weighing and measuring and the involved chain of argument which leads to the conclusion—all this is too arduous a task to be required of children under the age of fourteen. Science teaching of this kind does nothing to encourage the spirit of curiosity, but tends to kill the desire for information, by showing how barren, dreary and monotonous is the road that leads to the desired answer. The child is not capable of abstract reasoning or of deducing general laws from particular cases. Let us confine our attention more to the particular and leave the general and the universal for later years.

We need not go beyond nature study and object lessons dealing with the affairs of everyday life and illustrated by simple experiments. We must make the world and its phenomena interesting in order that, with growing years and increasing knowledge,

the child may become eager on his own account to probe more deeply into the matter. Interest is our goal, and to interest all must lead. For interest is the parent of intelligence, the nurse of the faculty of observation, and the sole force which can induce the child, when he leaves school, to continue his education in order to satiate his desire for new facts and new experience.

But all these are matters which must be left to the enterprise and the initiative of the practical teacher. Much is already done, but much more remains to be done, and much more will certainly be done if the schoolmaster is allowed to carry out experiments with a freer hand than has heretofore been the case. Inspectors must direct their attention to the interest displayed by scholars in their work, and must think less of the extent of knowledge exhibited. Interest, and not mere acquisition, is what counts, because the former leads to the latter, and the last, uninspired by the first, is sterile and doomed to speedy destruction.

But interests vary from age to age, and the hardest task of the teacher is to discover the right moment for beginning a subject. This is a region largely unexplored, where investigation is sorely needed, and where the harvest of the pioneer is likely to be rich. I cannot conclude this section better than by a quotation from William James's *Psychology*. "In all pedagogy," he writes—

"the great thing is to strike the iron while hot, and to seize the wave of the pupil's interest in each successive subject before its ebb has come, so that knowledge may be got and a habit of skill acquired, a headway of interest, in short, secured on which the individual may float. There is a happy moment for fixing skill in drawing, for making boys

collectors in natural history, and presently for dissectors and botanists; then for initiating them into the harmonies of mechanics and the wonders of physical and chemical law. Later, introspective psychology and the metaphysical and religious mysteries take their turn; and last of all, the drama of human affairs and worldly wisdom in the widest sense of the term. In each of us a saturation-point is soon reached in all these things; the impetus of our purely intellectual zeal expires, and unless the topic be one associated with some urgent personal need that keeps our wits constantly whetted about it, we settle into an equilibrium and live on what we learned when our interest was fresh and instinctive, without adding to our store. . . . If by chance we do learn anything about some entirely new topic, we are afflicted with a strange sense of insecurity, and we fear to advance a resolute opinion. But in the things learned in the plastic days of instinctive curiosity we never lose entirely our sense of being at home. There remains a kinship, a sentiment of intimate acquaintance, which, even when we know we have failed to keep abreast of the subject, flatters us with a sense of power and makes us feel not altogether out of the pale."

(4.) *Imagination.*

Somewhere or other there is a story told of a blind child who dwelt in a hovel on the outskirts of a city. At the back of the cottage lay one of those pieces of waste ground often seen in a town, enclosed by the owner long ago and then apparently forgotten. The wooden fence had rotted and was falling to pieces; yellow fungus and the green slime of decay were thick upon the pales. Inside was a mighty heap of rubbish, cumbered up with masses of broken iron, tangled wire, and fragments of wood, all overgrown with docks and coltsfoot. Across the surface of the plot ran an open ditch, down which flowed the sewage from the neighbouring houses. The

whole presented to the eye a forlorn and desperate spectacle.

But to the blind girl it was a place of wonder and magic beauty. Wandering over the ground from day to day, her touch had made her familiar with every object; and every object had its own peculiar charm. This dreary wilderness seemed to her imagination the courtyard of a palace; the ruined fence appeared to her fingers a piece of delicate lattice-work and graceful tracery; the mound of rubbish was a rockery covered with lovely flowers, and the open ditch became a limpid stream.

To her came the king of the country in disguise and heard her tale of this beautiful spot and all its marvels. Touched by the contrast between her fancy and its crude realisation, he fashioned for her a garden, taking the picture of her imagination as his model. Then he brought her there and waited for her cry of surprise and happiness. But, for all the skill shown in the design, the place seemed cold and unfamiliar to her touch; and she begged the king to take her back to the waste ground she had learned to love.

Thus does imagination outrun all reality and fashion a world of wonder and loveliness from the meanest and sorriest material. But this place of her fancy had for the child a true existence, though others regarded it differently and were blind to its charms. Her world was the world as she saw it, and not as others saw it. Her world was beautiful, though to others it was full of ugliness; and she was the happier for the fact.

Thus there is a certain blindness which may be a blessing, if accompanied by a certain clearer sight

which perceives wonder and variety where others see nothing but the monotony of the commonplace. This faculty, which can ignore the unpleasant and call a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old, is due to the power of imagination. No force has a greater power to transform the environment, and no factor in life plays a larger part in life's happiness.

Already in considering the question of interest we have more than once trespassed on the domain of imagination. For indeed interest and imagination are so closely related that they cannot easily be kept apart. Imagination is a creative and energising principle; it quickens interests, keeps them alive and gives them power of growth; it is the crown and goal of all true education. "My definition," says Kappa, in that charming book entitled, *Let Youth but Know*—

"of a liberal as distinct from a merely utilitarian education would be this—a course of training which arouses and sustains in the mind of its subject a vivid realisation of the miracle of existence. We move in the midst of a stupendous fairy-tale, compared with which the most fantastic Arabian Night is humdrum and pedestrian. What was Aladdin's Palace to the dome of the million jewels which is nightly builded over our heads, marvellous to the eye, but incomparably more marvellous to the mind? What were the adventures of Sinbad compared with the toils and vicissitudes, the triumphs and defeats, of our fathers and our brothers, the race of man on earth. . . . Emerson has somewhere said: 'If the stars came out only once in a thousand years, how men would wonder and adore and preserve for countless generations the memory of the City of God which they had seen.' It should be the business of education to make this miracle new to us every morning."

No words could define better the aim of education, so far as the duty of stimulating the imagination is concerned. The world *is* a place of wonder, only it happens that most of our eyes are blind. The work of the teacher is essentially of a couching nature and seeks to remove the cataract that dims our vision.

To develop the imagination of the children in the elementary schools, in face of the large classes and the unromantic surroundings of the home, might well appear a task not unattended with difficulties. But the obstacles in the way of success are largely overrated. Young children are essentially imaginative; the world is still to them a place of wonder, where the unexpected is the rule and where anything may happen. Even the town child can find the street of his dwelling a spot where fancy may run riot. He can people it with strange sights and sounds and make of it a fantastic fairyland of dreams. The teacher has no need to call into being some new faculty; it is there already, begging and craving for nutriment.

But in a town, undoubtedly, this faculty is delicate and easily destroyed. The town world is so tiny and confined, can boast so little that challenges wonder, and drops so easily into the levelled groove of monotony that imagination withers for lack of sustenance and the world loses for ever the glamour of romance. This is why to the adult the town usually appears in the sombre vesture of brute reality; even Emerson's stars are seen but dimly and in small detachments when viewed through the narrow slit of streets. As heretofore we must put our trust in the teacher to transcend so far as is

possible the inherent difficulties of the situation; and there seems no just reason to doubt their ability to perform the task.

At any rate we are not called on to create what does not now exist. The child's imagination lies ready to hand, and, if we can discover for it no new outlet, we may at least avoid assiduously blocking up the channels that exist. Who has not heard teachers term fairy-tales nonsense because fairies are unknown to science? There are even people who, in their cold austerity, would take from the girl her doll. Now, to children fairies are real and dolls living creatures, because they believe in them. Let us never forget that there is not one world but many worlds; and that each person's world is the world that is real to him, because filled with the things he has himself created. And this creative imagination of the child is nearer to the truth than the most elaborate catalogue of scientific discovery, nearer to the truth because it recognises the inherent mystery and the overwhelming wonders of life. Let us, therefore, at least leave to children their fairies, their dolls, and the other playful products of their fancies.

All the school subjects, just as on the one side they can be used to encourage interests, may on the other be employed as instruments to stimulate the imagination. Some, doubtless, are peculiarly adapted for this purpose, but the method is of more importance than the matter. Here more than anywhere else in education it is impossible to lay down definite rules which will lead to success. The personal equation of the teacher always enters as a perturbing factor. No teacher can invest all lessons

with the romance of imagination, but that teacher has mistaken his vocation who cannot make at least one subject glow and sparkle in the minds of the pupils. Even the most unpromising department of knowledge may for the child develop the quaintest conceits and the most luxuriant riot of fancy, if it is handled by a master who feels for it a real enthusiasm.

Imagination gathers material from two sources; either it looks to that part of the world where man and his works appear, or, turning from this strange tumult, it ransacks regions where man's presence and activity can be ignored. On the one hand, it fashions for us the drama of life; on the other, it conceives the panorama and the pageant of creation. We reach here a distinction to which attention has already been drawn—the distinction between the nature and the human element as factors of education.

The nature element gives to us the pageant of creation, and, as has been shown, the nature element is an almost negligible factor within the walls of a city. Thus at the outset the teacher finds himself stript of one of the two means of stimulating imagination. He cannot invoke the help of nature, because in a town there is nothing to respond to his summons; he is vainly striving to conjure up images which do not exist in the minds of his pupils, or are only there in some quaint and distorted shape. The loss is great, especially in the case of the younger children, because the pageant of creation appeals in particular to the eye; and vision, in earlier years if not in later, is the most fertile mother of ideas and fancy.

When we speak of the romance of the country, we think of the dim mysteries of the forest, the blue vistas of endless hills, the wonders of growth and the slow procession of resistless change. When we speak of the romance of the town we generally mean some disorderly excursion into the domain of love, or some disorderly excursion into the realm of crime. There may come, one day, a teacher who will show us how to take that dead skeleton of bricks and mortar we call a city and make of it a thing of life and wonder; but till the appearance of this new prophet the town will be to us the embodiment of crude and hard and uninspiring reality.

If, then, we wish to invoke the aid of nature to stimulate the imagination of the child, we must take the child where nature can be found. We must have regular excursions into the country as part of the school curriculum, conducted by the teachers and paid for out of the rates. This practice is common in parts of the United States, and its admirable results challenge imitation. Anything short of this cannot be expected to attain the end desired. Science has undoubtedly wonders to reveal, but not to young children who live in a town. The environment is unfavourable and cannot supply objects of experience to illustrate the lessons. Science can create interests, but will in general fail to touch the imagination. To this rule there is but a single exception. One fragment of the country strays into the city, untainted by the hand of man, and is cherished with a tender affection—the flowers. The kind of flower matters little; the children accept it with joy and treasure it until it is dead. There is a strange pathos in the sight of a child

standing amid all the whirl of London's weekly carnival and gazing in wonder at a few faded blossoms, as they lie on a coster's barrow, illumined by the wild glare of the flickering naphtha jets. The sight suggests that these poor wanderers from another world, tossed up into the darkling town, are stirring thoughts which harmonise ill with the fancies bred of the fantastic revel around—thoughts which testify that the child is dimly conscious of the wonders of nature if only he be allowed to see them. Flowers and the mystery of growth, because they can be brought into the schoolroom, should always be awarded an honoured place; and lessons on such subjects, given with a proper spirit, will not fail to touch the imagination.

When we turn, however, to the human element, we are, at any rate, at no loss for suitable examples. History is a subject at the present much neglected and ill-taught as a dry compendium of facts. We want to make these dead bones live, these old times rise into present existence and form a part of the real drama of life. Kappa has an excellent passage on the subject—

"To the youthful mind," he says, "between the ages of seven and fourteen, history ought rather to be 'revealed' than 'taught.' The process should resemble the gradual withdrawal of a curtain and disclosure of a splendid and moving spectacle. Every lesson should end like an instalment of a serial romance, with a tantalising 'to be continued in our next.' The teacher should be held to have mistaken his vocation who should fail to hold his pupils fascinated. To that end he shall be supplied with all sorts of mechanical aids, relief-maps, coloured charts, diagrams, models, casts, photography, and above all, a lantern with an endless variety of slides. . . . But

ultimately, of course, if the teacher is to awaken the imagination of his pupils, it must be through the sympathic use of the imagination. If the past is dead to him, it will remain dead to them. He will be helped, no doubt, by text-books written with a view to his requirements—very different from the abhorrent manual and synopsis and summaries of to-day. But the master who merely recites a text-book will never teach history, even though the text-book be the work of a man of genius."

The phrase "gradual withdrawal of a curtain" exactly describes the process of stimulating imagination. Imagination is abhorrent of clear-cut boundaries; it must be permitted to wander at large and unconfined. There must be something shown and there must be something suggested but not shown, something that points beyond and is not limited. This is the essence of all true teaching and the essence of all true art.

Reading and literature should be taught in a similar way; and here at any rate the course is easy. For there is at least one pleasure common to all children, of which they never weary—the joy of listening to tales. Even the youngest have an insatiate desire to hear stories, and the delight experienced is entirely due to the work of the imagination. Yet story-telling is almost neglected in the school curriculum. The charming anecdotes and pictures in the modern "readers" will no doubt be mentioned as a complete answer to the charge. Excellent as these are, and excellent likewise as are the many devices for teaching the child to read, they do not touch the real question. The books and methods do just what they aim at doing, and nothing more. They make the learning

to read attractive, but they never reach the imagination. They smooth out the wrinkles of the process, banishing the tedious grind, but they rouse no enthusiasm for reading as a form of pleasure. They are quite right as far as they go, but they do not go nearly far enough. The real interest of the tale is subordinated to the task of securing other objects. Spelling and the explanation of the meaning of words, the elucidation of allusions and forms of expression, pronunciation, and even grammatical constructions, all these subsidiary exercises are part of the reading lesson. The joy of reading, with its appeal to the imagination, through the creation of a new world of things and people, can never come to fruition so long as books are regarded as a mere compendium of useful knowledge.

A reading lesson of the normal character has its place in the course of the school curriculum, but must not be regarded as a satisfactory method of developing the imagination. We want something more than this, we ought to have one or two half-hours a week for the hearing of a story. For little children the tale will be told by the teacher, and be complete in itself. For elder children a book will be read either by the teacher or some child, and continued from lesson to lesson, leaving the interest to grow in the interval. But let it be a real story, fairy tales and stirring romances being selected; above all, let it be free from all taint of edification. Leave the imagination unfettered by material considerations. Let the narrative sweep boldly forward without pause for explanation; and children will begin to see the joy that lies hid in books.

Even under present conditions children take pleasure in reading to themselves, and borrow freely from the school libraries. But it is not easy to teach them to appreciate the better kinds of literature. Let editions of the best authors be used as reading books, not indeed in those lessons which are connected with the manipulation of words, the elucidation of constructions and forms of speech, but let them be read by a child to the class without interruption for needless explanations. Children's minds leap easily over obscure phrases and without difficulty grip the general meaning of the passage. At the present time the majority of reading books are too "scrappy" in character, and seek to edify the mind rather than to stimulate the imagination.

Miniature theatricals and the playing of games offer other opportunities for encouraging the growth of the imagination, and should be included in the curriculum of every school. The pageant of the stage should occupy a prominent position in history lessons. Historical scenes, with suitable costumes and scenery, ought to be performed;—the girls could make the dresses during the needlework lessons. For many purposes Shakespere would be invaluable in supplying the words; while on other occasions the children, after having thoroughly grasped the meaning of the situation, should be left to invent their own dialogue. A vicar in a small country village, when organising the performance of a miracle play, found that the small actors and actresses were quite competent to carry on unaided an animated and appropriate conversation.

The teaching of singing, now compulsory in the elementary school, is another step in the right

direction. But more care is required in the selection of the songs, and better use should be made of the old melodies and ballads. The airs that have come down to us from the past appeal essentially to the characteristics of the nation, and are eloquent of the spirit of the people.

Art teaching for the few who have talent in this direction is useful, but for the many it is worse than useless. You can teach most people to appreciate and enjoy art, but you cannot make them artists; and unless this end is secured, elaborate instruction in drawing and painting is a form of misspent energy. Good pictures in the schools and visits to picture galleries and cathedrals will be more profitable than any lessons. We are few of us artists; we may ourselves never produce, but we can at least be taught to find pleasure in the work of others.

In the enjoyment of art, imagination is the important factor; it is the parent of what are usually called the higher pleasures. Now the characteristics of these higher pleasures lie in what may be termed their collectivist aspect. Their possession and enjoyment by one individual make no one else the poorer. On the contrary, one who realises the possibilities of happiness latent here, by pointing the way to others, is himself a source of outflowing happiness.

The appreciation of these higher pleasures is therefore the distinctive characteristic of that type of civilisation where the riches of one man will be the direct cause of the riches of another. The material resources of the world are necessarily limited; at any one time the more one person contrives to gather unto himself, the less there will be for the remainder. But the treasures of the imagi-

nation do not suffer from this restriction and are common property. A town with its art galleries, its libraries, its bands and its concerts, for the most part free to all, contain unplumbed possibilities of happiness. The tragedy of modern life must be sought not in the poverty of its resources, but in the failure to realise the extent of its possessions.

(5.) *The Tools of Life.*

It is possible that certain readers, after wading through the foregoing discussion, will complain that the scheme of education there outlined presents a somewhat diaphanous and unsubstantial appearance, and lacks the sure foundations of solid knowledge and useful acquisition. A child, who during his school career has floated in buoyant happiness on a sea of habits, interests and imagination, may perhaps go out into the world with the blessing of an admirable character, but rather meagrely endowed with an ability to perform those tasks required of every civilised man. In our effort to encourage the higher qualities, we may have seemed to disparage, or even to ignore, the humble tools of everyday life.

Now, if we were still in the bonds of that theory of education which assumed that a subject, active in the work of developing certain qualities of the individual—as, for example, the training of his mind—must for this reason be impotent to serve any other desirable end, then in truth there would be some grounds for the charge. But we have long since seen good reason to abandon this ancient hypothesis, and have on the contrary come to believe that a subject which has no practical application is, for that very reason, without value in the building up of the

intellect or in the formation of character. Habits, interests and imagination will not only be the fruits of a successful school career, but will also drag along in their train a store of useful knowledge and useful accomplishments. In the process of their growth the child will learn how to handle deftly the common tools of life.

There is no call to devote any lengthy space to the discussion of this subject. As a matter of fact, after eliminating habits, interests and imagination, it is possible to sum up in a single paragraph the general accomplishments that civilised life demands. The child must be able to read, to express his thoughts either in written words or in spoken words or in pictures and diagrams, and to perform simple arithmetical calculations, for the most part mental in character. The actual number of hours which must be devoted to these lessons in order to secure the desired degree of aptitude, is so small that we need have no fear of their neglect. With one exception, they all receive sufficient attention at the present time; and the only difficulty which faces the schoolmaster is the difficulty of teaching the pupil to apply his knowledge and to exercise his powers under the conditions which exist outside the schoolroom.

I have already discussed this difficulty when dealing with the question of habits, and nothing more need be said on the subject here. But the exception to the rule, that sufficient attention is already devoted to the tools of life, is sufficiently important to justify further consideration. In the majority of schools the child is not taught to express his thoughts in pictures and diagrams.

It is, no doubt, true that instruction in drawing

almost invariably forms part of the curriculum. But the subject is nearly always taught from an altogether erroneous point of view. It has been caught in the entangling meshes of artistic aspiration, and is usually regarded as a branch of the process of initiation into the mysteries of the higher culture. Children have devoted much time to elaborate freehand drawing and colour-work, and, for the most part, have derived little benefit from the exercise.

Now drawing has no necessary connection with art; it is merely the means of expressing thoughts in pictures, just as composition is the means of expressing thoughts in written words. Regarded as an extension of writing, few accomplishments are more valuable than a proficiency in drawing. The ability to give figurative form to his ideas is constantly of service to everyone, and indispensable to all mechanics who desire to advance far in their profession.

Drawing of this character must be divorced from all notions of art. The child must learn to sketch common objects, either set before him or conjured up by his imagination. Anyone can be taught to do this, just as well as he can be taught to write; it is a mere matter of learning and carrying out definite rules. At the present time, drawing is largely under the control of art inspectors, who do the best they can to make artists out of the very miscellaneous material supplied them — an altogether unprofitable endeavour. We must free this subject from the control of the specialist and entrust it to the care of the ordinary teacher. Art can unquestionably claim a place in the curriculum,

but instruction in its principles must be reserved for those few who display peculiar talent. It is true that in certain schools such children are even now formed into a separate class, but all the children are put through an elementary course of what is intended to be an initiation into the mysteries of art. The common herd is thus sacrificed in the cause of the select minority, and is sacrificed needlessly. For, to pick out of those who are learning to draw with the view of expressing their ideas in pictorial fashion, the boys and girls of marked capacity, is a task that presents no sort of difficulty.

In addition to these general tools of life there are certain more specialised accomplishments which, varying with the sexes, are no less important in the economies of existence. Boys must learn to use their hands, and girls be initiated into the mysteries of domestic duties. So far as the boys are concerned, the subject presents little difficulty. There is no thought of teaching him a trade; we merely require him to be deft in the use of tools and capable of controlling his fingers. Manual training —a subject whose importance is now generally recognised—appears admirably suited to secure this end. There are, of course, sundry outstanding problems which require solution, but they need not detain us here.

But with girls the case is different. Our aims are here more ambitious, and we have deliberately set ourselves the task of teaching them a trade—the trade of the home. Instruction in needlework, in cookery, in laundry-work, and in housewifery and the general hygiene of the house, have as their

avowed object not merely the training of the hands but the training of the future mother. The subject has of late years received much attention, and is at the present time exciting considerable interest. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the efforts expended have not been rewarded by very beneficent results. The girls do not in general take any active part in the cooking operations of the house, nor, when they are allowed to assist, do they carry out into practical effect the lessons of the school. The same truth holds in respect of the other departments of the domestic duties. There is not that contact between the ideas of the home and the ideas of the school which is always desirable.

Whether this fact is due to the fault of the teaching or to the fault of the parents, it is not easy to say; but in all probability there are faults on both sides. The parents, wedded to the traditions of the past, are not very amenable to the influence of new methods. They assume a critical attitude and are inclined to pronounce an unfavourable verdict on the whole business because of certain obvious defects in detail. It is common to hear the complaint that to carry out the directions of the teacher would involve an expenditure of time which the hurry of life will not permit. The elaborate weighing at the cookery centres, the exquisitely neat stitches in the needlework, the artistic patches and darning, all these are apt to excite ridicule. Doubtless, there is much prejudice and ignorance displayed in such criticism, but doubtless likewise there is some residuum of truth.

Certain experts have pointed out that it is time and money wasted to give instruction in many of

these subjects to young children, who will have forgotten what they have learned by the time they are old enough to be mothers. We ought, they say, to postpone our teaching till the girls reach the age of seventeen or eighteen when they will be able to make practical use of the lessons. But like much advice of experts, it ignores the facts relevant to the situation.

In the first place, if we postpone such instructions till the age of eighteen, we shall, in the vast majority of cases, be postponing it altogether. We may open our classes, but we shall catch only a few pupils. We can compel attendance up to the age of fourteen, and the bulk of the work must be done before the elementary school is left. In the second place, it is not true to say that, until they become mothers, the girls will have no opportunity of applying their knowledge. A large amount of the work of the home falls upon their shoulders long before the age of compulsory attendance is reached. They look after the baby, and do much of the shopping and most of the scrubbing; and the "washing up" is generally committed to their care. There is therefore a large field for the immediate application in practice of the lessons learned in school. If we are failing—and there is no doubt that the failure is considerable—we are failing because the conditions of the schoolroom or centre differ so widely from the conditions of the home that rules valid for the one are useless for the other. We cannot alter the conditions under which the home duties are performed; we must therefore endeavour to reproduce, as far as possible, these conditions in the school. We must not introduce appliances not

found in the home; we must avoid elaborate directions which are easy to forget and hard to carry out in the bustle of domestic life. If the Public Authority provided crèches, here would be a practical means of instructing the girls in the care of infants. Actual assistance in the cooking of the school meal would be more valuable than the present habit of preparing individual dishes. Here, as elsewhere, we must preserve the contact between school and home, and here, more perhaps than anywhere else, we need bold experiments.

There is one danger into which every teacher is prone to fall—the danger of setting up a standard which can be reached only within the walls of the school. He recognises rightly the many defects which mar the home life of the child, and is well aware that he is himself one of the most potent forces which make for change and amelioration. Eager to push to its furthest limits the effect of his beneficent influence, he strives to secure in the performance of all tasks a sort of abstract perfection. The final result must be perfect in itself, irrespective of the practical end it is intended to subserve.

To take a concrete case: I have never examined a specimen of "darning," executed on special material and on a specially prepared hole, without being struck with admiration for what is in fact an exquisite piece of embroidery, and without feeling that to crush so delicate a work of art beneath the horny heel of the foot would be the act of a Philistine, verging on sacrilege. Now doubtless for angels, supplied with an abundance of leisure and unencumbered with the cares of a household, to possess stockings which grew more beautiful with

every hole that appeared, might be a very proper and legitimate ambition. But for us weary mortals in this workaday world to secure, at the expense of a neglected house or an uncooked dinner, an artistic excellence in the covering of that part of the person which does not usually assert its presence, is a price we can ill afford to pay.

Darning is but a symbol of much of the school work. It aims at, and often obtains, a degree of perfection which cannot be maintained, nor is even desirable, in the home. Perfection is essentially a relative term, and must be judged by the results it is intended to secure; and a stocking strongly, though even clumsily, darned is as serviceable an article as a stocking whose hole is filled with a thing of beauty. This tendency to strive after abstract perfection is too often encouraged and required by inspectors, who are usually entirely ignorant of the home conditions of the child-life. In subjects such as manual training, cookery, needlework and housewifery, we want to aim at that relative perfection which is justified by its works, grossly utilitarian though this ideal may seem.

(6.) *The Entrance to a Trade.*

If the teacher is liable to regard each subject in the curriculum as an end in itself, to be judged by a standard of perfection applicable only within the limits of the schoolroom, the Education Authority is inclined to assume a correspondingly insular attitude towards the school itself. The school is converted into a sort of self-centred universe, to be protected from, rather than to be connected with, the rude world lying beyond. For all its elegance

and admirable organisation, it stands in solitary isolation, just as its building is set in effective and lonely contrast with the neighbourhood in which it is placed. It resembles a serpent with tail in mouth, devoid of any visible means of advance. Now the true parallel should be a stream flowing forward and joining with other streams as it proceeds on its journey until, almost imperceptibly, it merges in the river of adult life. One advantage of the destruction of the School Boards and the association of education with the general work of the Municipality is to be found in the fact that this change bids fair to destroy this narrow and parochial outlook.

The school course, then, must not be allowed to end in a blank wall. Starting from it as centre, paths must everywhere splay out and lead forward into the manifold tracts of life. Almost from the beginning of his career the child must be given a wide outlook, in order that he may see the intimate connection between his present training as a child and his future career as a man. Elementary education must be related, on the one hand, to the professions, and on the other to the trades. The road to the former leads through the secondary school and the university, while the latter ought, under rational conditions, to be reached only after passing through technical institutes and technical colleges. There is, of course, no hard ruled line separating trades and professions, though the distinction is sufficiently clear for practical purposes.

Early in his career at the elementary school he must be able, by the help of a scholarship, to

enter a secondary school. The various Education Authorities have already recognised the need of making a bridge between the elementary school and the university. It is true that in many cases the bridge is so narrow that few can pass; but its existence is the fact of importance, and its widening merely a matter of time. We ought, of course, to offer to all the opportunity of receiving the highest form of education suitable to their ability. In the lower grades the London County Council has already adopted this principle, and now awards scholarships, carrying with them free tuition till the age of sixteen, and where necessary a maintenance grant, to every child attending an elementary school who can be shown to be likely to profit by more advanced instruction. Other scholarships, restricted in number, lead onwards towards the university; but ere long it is certain that this limit will be removed and the whole field of education thrown open to all.

The importance of a proper system of secondary schools has not at present been fully realised by the working classes. It is indeed true that the Trades Union Congress, year by year, advocates free secondary education for all. But this resolution is little more than a pious affirmation and fails to indicate the existence of any widespread enthusiasm.

The chief obstacle that hinders the progress of the artisan and confines him, as a rule, to the lower positions of life, is to be sought not in any defect of native ability, but in the want of proper training. He is rarely capable of taking a broad survey of human affairs, lacks that tact and alert intelligence required to manage men, and is everywhere at a

disadvantage when pitted against those who have had the good fortune to receive a superior education.

In their earlier years the children of the working classes receive a training in no way inferior, and frequently superior, to the training given to the children who spring from the wealthier sections of the community. It is later that the differences begin to make themselves felt; the one has, as a rule, completed his course of instruction at the age of fourteen, while the other at that age is only starting on the serious part of his educational career. The problem, therefore, which most urgently demands solution is the problem of the secondary, and not the problem of the elementary school. A large supply of efficient secondary schools, with free and effective access to them for all who are fit, this is the first object to be secured.

The second question which merits our most serious consideration is concerned with the problem of technical or semi-technical instruction. When we turn to the relations of the elementary school to the industrial side of life, we are everywhere met with a picture of neglect that reflects little credit on a nation whose pride lies in the supremacy of its commerce. Various opportunities of training are indeed open to all and are grasped by a few. There are evening classes and courses at polytechnics and art schools, where the principles and the practice of the different trades may be learned. But, as a rule, no organic connection exists between the technical institutes and the elementary schools on the one hand, or between the technical institutes and the majority of the employers on the other.

Much of the so-called failure of elementary education is due to this lack of connection. The boy has acquired a habit of study, and his interests and intelligence are beginning to develop, when the school career closes with a snap and everything is brought to an abrupt end. He suddenly becomes his own master and, at a loss to know what occupation to follow, seizes the first opportunity that offers, merely because the wages are good. The work usually makes small demands on his mental powers, offers no training of an educational character, and requires little more than an unintelligent obedience. No one familiar with the conditions of town life can have failed to observe, and to observe with dismay, the rapid deterioration in the finer qualities of the boy's nature that sets in shortly after he has left school.

Nor does the picture appear in any brighter colours when we turn from the boy to the factory. The complaint is general that the British mechanic is losing his pre-eminence in the industrial world as a skilled craftsman. While still without a rival in the ability to perform a task he thoroughly understands, he is slow and clumsy in learning new methods, and unable to adapt himself with ease to changed conditions. It is probable that the supply of skilled artisans—skilled, that is, in the use of their brains as well as of their hands—is far short of the demand.

To lay bare the cause of this strange and disquieting phenomenon is a task that presents no difficulty. The old system of apprenticeships is dead or moribund, and no alternative method of training has yet been called into existence. The boy enters the workshop and takes his chance of

"picking up" the elements of an industry. At the best he acquires dexterity in the performance of a single operation; at the worst he learns nothing and finds himself turned adrift as soon as he demands the wages of a man—an unskilled labourer without any prospects of earning a decent livelihood.

The social consequences are no less disastrous than the economic; and, as the most significant product of our haphazard methods, we have the alarming irruption of the unemployed. The lad, discharged at eighteen without having learned any trade, drifts inevitably into the ranks of that melancholy army. The workman, skilled in a single operation, but without an all-round training, too often finds his dexterity rendered unmarketable by the introduction of a new machine, and himself thrown on the world with no hope of earning more than the wages of the casual labourer. Looked at in what way we will, the result of this lack of proper training is altogether deplorable, in its spectacle of misery in the present, and for its menace of industrial and social deterioration in the future.

It is surely high time for us to consider in all seriousness whether we can afford any longer to entrust to the vagaries of chance, or, as some prefer to term it, individual enterprise, the selection and the training of the children and their distribution among the different professions. We have done so in the past, and the present situation is the ripe fruit of our indifference. If the best man is not in the best position, the business of life is carried on less efficiently than would otherwise be the case. In the face of facts whose truth is not to be gainsaid, can we really flatter ourselves that we have

made any appreciable approach to this ideal type of organisation?

We have permitted chance to be the arbiter of our destinies and, hoping for the best, are in a fair way to receive the worst. Not only have we neglected to provide for the adequate training of those called on to fill the lower positions in the industrial world, but we have also been careless whether the places of responsibility were the rewards of merit or the perquisites of birth. Indeed, we have not been content to leave the matter to the throws of fortune, but have heavily loaded the dice. For the odds against the child of the poor man winning one of the prizes are enormous. Everything tells in favour of the child of the well-to-do. Not only has he the advantage of a better education, but he possesses the immense privilege of being able to wait until the desirable opening appears. The other, on the contrary, is driven to embrace the first opportunity presented, because the pangs of starvation are the penalty attached to judicious delay. In this method of selection, doubtless, some test of efficiency exists. A few of the poor creep up, blinking in mild astonishment at the splendour of their position; a few of the rich, cursing their own bad luck, fall to the bottom; but for the majority, "to him that hath shall be given" is the general rule of life. The whole system makes for inefficiency, and it is difficult to discover any valid reason for its continued toleration.

Now the vast majority of the children pass through publicly-managed schools, and, as secondary education develops, this number will be continually increasing. The State has therefore at its

disposal the means of gauging the capacity of its future citizens. In consequence, the task of guiding and supervising that sorting process which determines the distribution of the children among the different occupations should not present any insurmountable difficulty. Indeed, in a single instance the State has undertaken this duty and has performed it with marked success. It has itself chosen those who shall become teachers in the elementary schools. It has tested their ability, controlled their training, and is gradually throwing open the scholastic profession to all who possess the necessary talent. People have hardly understood the significance of this experiment or realised the possibility of development along similar lines. The Civil Service and the clerks of Public Bodies are now, as a rule, selected by means of examination, while the system of scholarships, in a sense, provides the training. To go a step further and apply the principle of selection and training to the conditions of the industrial world, though perhaps less easy, is not outside the range of wise administration.

I shall assume that somewhere about the age of eleven the cream of the children from the elementary schools has been skimmed off and carried to the secondary schools. As I am not proposing to discuss the aims and the possibilities of higher education, I shall leave them there without more ado, merely remarking that from them will be drawn the supply of persons destined to fill the professions and, as a rule, the more important positions in the industrial world. Those who are left behind will in general form future recruits for the army of manual workers, or occupy the lower places in the realms of com-

merce. Is it possible to do anything more for this huge remnant than to equip them with the tools of life?

For the greater number—for those, that is, who will leave school at the age of fourteen—it is probable that any attempt at specialisation would not be attended by very encouraging results. I must not, however, be supposed to imply that the course of instruction should bear no relation to the circumstances of the neighbourhood. On the contrary, since a town has one set of needs and a village another, we must vary our educational nutriment to supply the varying wants. There is now no financial reason for the curriculum to follow the line of greatest grant; we need therefore no longer fear that navigation will be taught in the Midlands, and may expect a growing and saner differentiation in the choice of subjects. This, I assume, will occur; but what I wish to consider is, whether, having picked out those who should attend a secondary school, it is not possible to make a second selection and effect a further segregation of children, taking into account the occupations they are likely to follow in after-life?

There are at the present time to be found three types of schools which together make up the elementary system—the ordinary school, the higher grade school and the higher elementary school. We can afford to disregard the last of these three, so far, that is, as concerns its earlier form. With its ill-arranged curriculum and its plethora of indigestible science it satisfied no educational need, nor was it intended to do so. It was merely desired to still a political clamour and appease a refractory auditor.

The higher grade school was, however, created

to meet a distinct educational need. Prior to the Act of 1902, a Public Body might aid, but could not itself establish and maintain, a secondary school. The higher grade school represented the embodiment of an ingenious device which aimed at evading the strict letter of the law; it was, in fact, the secondary school for the children of the working classes. The legal restriction has now been withdrawn, and with it has gone the justification for the continued existence of higher grade schools. It should at least be clear that a school which gives education of a secondary character should now be converted into a normal secondary school.

It is not, however, equally clear that there should be for the future but one kind of elementary school. The capacity of children varies much, and we ought not to find it impossible, at any rate in the large towns, to make a second selection of the cleverest children and collect them in special buildings. But the aim of this new school must be different from the aim of the old higher grade school. We must not create a system of inferior secondary schools—inferior because less well equipt with teachers and apparatus than the normal. Unless we make a firm stand from the outset, we shall find that Educational Authorities, discovering that higher grade schools are far cheaper to build and to maintain than secondary schools, will neglect the provision of the latter and, in the cause of economy, concentrate only on the former. If this happens, we shall be again foisting on the working classes a relatively inferior form of education, perpetuating the existence of a dual system of training—the one for the rich and the other for the poor—and

riveting upon each child the advantages or the disabilities of his birth. We shall never secure equal opportunity for all unless we first provide for all equal educational advantages.

The higher grade school, therefore, must not be permitted to become an inferior secondary school; it must shed its skin and appear in a new form, if it is to justify its continued existence. Nor is it very difficult to see the sort of transformation required. The Board of Education have grown cold in their first love for science, and in their recent regulations for higher elementary schools appear to contemplate an institution where a distinct bias in favour of the trades of the neighbourhood is given to the curriculum. In addition, the report of the Consultative Committee on higher elementary schools advocates, though in less definite terms, something of the same character. The whole matter is at present in an experimental stage, but the proposals made seem to indicate a movement in the right direction.

The higher elementary school of the new type may therefore be looked on as standing in some relation to the trades of the neighbourhood in which it is placed. It will provide training for those who are likely to become foremen and managers of small undertakings, or who are in some cases destined to rise to the highest positions of command in the industrial world. For there are always children whose ability is of slow development, or whose peculiar bent lies in the direction of constructive ingenuity and mechanical invention. These might easily slip through the meshes of the scholarship net, but would be safely caught by the more closely-woven fabric of the higher elementary school.

Various kinds of schools, or various sections in the same school, will be required. There will, for example, be the wood-work type, the engineering type, the commercial type, the dressmaking type, and many others. These institutions must not be regarded as trade schools, or as substitutes for the old system of apprenticeship. To cultivate manual dexterity, or to impart some form of specialised knowledge, such as book-keeping, is not their object. Their true aim is of a more generalised character; they should endeavour to foster a rich cluster of interests, grouped round some particular phase of industrial life. Incidentally the pupil may learn to use certain tools, and will at any rate become familiar with the organisation and the language of the workshop. But the essence of the matter lies in the encouragement of appropriate interests. When the boy leaves school he will, if nothing prevents him, go where his interests take him, and we want them to take him to the factory or house of business. If, when he gets there, he finds that the school lessons serve as a sort of introduction to the bewildering complexity of industrial organisation, he will start with an advantage which will carry him far in the profession he has selected.

The pupils will be selected and transferred to the higher elementary school at the age of eleven—the age, that is, when the others who win scholarships are removed to the secondary schools. They will there receive a four years' course of instruction, and will thus continue their education a year longer than those who are left in the ordinary school. It is to be hoped that, when parents come to see the advantage of this extended instruction, they will

make the necessary effort to allow their children to avail themselves of the opportunities offered. But as it is not at present possible to compel attendance, it may be found necessary to offer in certain cases small bursaries to compensate in part for the loss of the child's earnings.

It is possible that, in spite of the explanations given, this proposal of grafting a sort of introductory trade training on to the curriculum of the elementary school will rouse objection in the minds of certain readers. They will complain of the evils of early specialisation and plead eloquently for a general education, designed to promote culture rather than to subserve more material ends. Further consideration of the question will, it is hoped, allay this not unnatural apprehension.

No doubt, if the training of a boy for the profession of a carpenter made it necessary for him, from the baby-room upward, to be concerned solely with the handling and the moulding of wood, specialisation of this character would assuredly merit condemnation. But no such drastic measure is here contemplated. The boy would pass through the ordinary standards of the elementary school till he was transferred to the higher elementary school. During the three or four years spent there he would receive a course of instruction which would ensure his acquisition of certain knowledge and certain aptitudes desirable for a carpenter to possess. The variety of the curriculum would be in no way curtailed. But the subjects would be taught with an eye to his future profession and have a distinct bearing on his future career.

Whatever subject is taught in a school cannot

be taught in its entirety; some method of selection must be adopted. Now it is surely a fallacy to suppose that if this method of selection is left to chance the result will be admirable, while if it is guided by a clear principle the result will be disastrous. History, geography, arithmetic, drawing, science and the like, all will be included in the curriculum, but special attention will be devoted to those portions likely to be of use and interest to the carpenter. If, for example, we are teaching history, we shall give a prominent place to the industrial life of the people, to the structure of society before and after the invention of machinery, and to the influence of Trade Unions. The geographical syllabus will lay stress on the kinds of timber imported from the different countries. In arithmetic we shall strive to ensure adroitness in the calculations any intelligent carpenter ought to be able to make. It may be necessary to leave out the rules for manipulating Stocks and Shares, as he will be unlikely to find any use for them in his trade. The training of the professional millionaire (if such training is deemed desirable, and few will be found to deny the need) will, of course, include this branch of mathematics. Drawing instruction will in a similar manner be adapted to the needs of the carpenter; and other subjects should be treated in accordance with the same general principle. Manual training is now regarded as a part of education, and the boy will learn the use of the tools required in working wood. More time will be devoted to this branch of instruction, but we could eliminate French and curtail the lessons in grammar. Literature and kindred subjects will

receive no less, and probably more, attention than they are given at present. In short, all education demands a selection among a number of good things, and we shall do no more than choose those good things which are in particular good for the carpenter. Similar considerations will guide the choice of the curriculum in the other types of schools.

It is difficult to see where the loss in culture and general education would occur. The training in habits and the development of the imagination would remain unchanged. The interests, no less in number, would be all the stronger and the more lasting, because many of them would be connected with the boy's future career, and would thus find easily assimilated nutriment when the school-days were over, while what have been termed the tools of life are so few that he can hardly escape becoming apt in their use. Finally, and perhaps most important of all, the child would in general receive an extra twelve months' education, either because of bursaries or because the parent, seeing the obvious advantage, would allow him to remain until the course was completed.

But the higher elementary school alone cannot be expected to solve the problem of the entrance to a trade. We have still to consider the later career of the pupils and we must not ignore the large majority of the children left behind in the ordinary school. The old system of apprenticeship is dying and destined to perish. It would be amazing if a method of training, suitable to the needs of industry before the invention of machinery while the workshop was small, could be grafted on to the modern factory with its intricate machinery

and complex division of labour. In their chapter on "The Entrance to a Trade," in *Industrial Democracy*, Sidney and Beatrice Webb have summed up the case against the old system in a masterly manner:—

"From the point of view of the community," they write, "the old system has three capital disadvantages. There is no security to the public that the apprentice will be thoroughly and efficiently taught. It is no longer the master craftsman' who himself instructs the boy and has a direct pecuniary interest in his early proficiency. The scores of apprentices in a modern shipyard are necessarily left to learn their business for themselves, by watching workmen who are indifferent or even unfriendly to their progress, with possibly some occasional hints from a benevolent foreman. In these days of pedagogic science, elaborately trained teachers, and 'Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools,' the haphazard relation between the apprentice and his instructors will certainly not commend itself to the deliberate judgment of the community. Moreover, all history indicates that an apprenticeship system must leave outside its scope the large proportion of boys who recruit the vast army of unskilled labourers. In the absence of an apprenticeship system, the abler and more energetic of them succeed, as we have seen, in 'picking up' a trade, and progressing, as adults, according to their capacities. One of the darkest features of the whole history of apprenticeship is the constant necessity, if the system is to be maintained at all, of excluding, from the protected occupations, all 'illegal' men. . . . Unless a sharp line is drawn, either by law or by custom, between duly apprenticed craftsmen and 'illegal men,' it is obvious that no apprenticeship system can long exist. Finally, when such a separate class is created, the community can never tell to what extent it is being mulcted for the maintenance of the system. It was, in fact, the cost to the community, and, as he thought, the excessive cost, that led Adam Smith so fervently to denounce the whole apprenticeship system, with its inevitable consequences of monopoly

wages and profits. In our own day it is impossible to calculate how much it costs the community to educate a boiler-maker or glass-blower. We may infer that we are paying for it in the relatively high wages of these protected trades, but how much we are paying in this way, and upon whom the burden is falling it is impossible to compute. Undemocratic in its scope, unscientific in its educational methods, and fundamentally unsound in its financial aspects, the apprenticeship system, in spite of all the practical arguments in its favour, is not likely to be deliberately revived by a modern democracy."

The problem of to-day is to find a substitute for the old system of apprenticeship. Two factors are concerned; on the one hand there is the training in the workshop, and on the other the training in the technical institute. Neither can be dispensed with; we must find a way of combining both.

We must therefore recognise clearly that while the lessons learned in the factory are an essential part, they can never form the whole of the training. If we want, as we do want, the general all-round workman, his education must be completed in technical schools. The London County Council has recently published a Report on Apprenticeship, in which various suggestions are made. There are first the evening classes held in the schools, technical institutes and polytechnics. They are already well attended, but closer co-operation between them and the employers of labour is necessary. Proposals are sometimes advanced for making attendance at evening classes compulsory. So long as the hours of child-labour remain practically unlimited, it is not possible to advocate this course. Many children, after a day's work, are quite incapable of profiting by instruction; while

if child labour is rigorously restricted, it is easy, as is done later, to suggest a different type of compulsory attendance.

It is unwise to confine our attention solely to evening classes. The Day Trade School has become a successful institution on the Continent and in the United States. In England its importance is only beginning to be recognised. There, sometimes before he joins the workshop, and sometimes a few years later, the pupil devotes his whole time to continuing his education and to learning the principles of his trade. The boy from the higher elementary school will pass naturally, with or without the help of a scholarship, to such a school, where he may be joined by some pupils from the secondary schools. Connected with these trade schools will be technical institutions of a University rank, similar in character to the German Technical High Schools. Such establishments will supply the needs of the industrial army from the foreman up to the manager of a large business. Employers, though at present viewing such places with some suspicion, will in course of time recognise their utility and, as is often the case in the United States, will select their employees from those who attend the classes.

But there still remains the child who is never likely to rise above the level of the ordinary skilled workman. In certain cases employers have allowed their boys to be absent two or three half-days a week in order to attend day classes at technical institutes. This principle of "part time" attendance admits of large development and appears to indicate the direction where success lies. The L.C.C.

Report on Apprenticeship, already mentioned, refers to the question in the following terms :—

"We have further considered whether this 'part time system might be applied not only in the case of those who are already in the trade, but also in the case of children about to leave school and looking out for some occupation. We have felt that the moment of leaving school is the critical period of a boy's life. The case of the London boy is a particularly difficult one. It is so fatally easy for him to drift into some employment which, while the initial wages are high, offers no prospects in the future, and leads him inevitably, when a man, into the ranks of the unskilled labourer, the casual worker, and the unemployed. It is so hard for him or for his parents to discover, even if such be their wish, a satisfactory way of entering a skilled trade. We have given special attention to this problem, and feel that, in some cases at any rate, a modification of the 'part time' system might indicate the road to the desired goal. The boy and girl about to leave school (for there is every reason to include girls) would be informed that they might compete for industrial scholarships which would carry with them a small bursary and free tuition at approved day classes, provided that they could obtain employment in one of certain specified skilled trades. It would be necessary to furnish them with a list of employers in the neighbourhood who, in answer to the proposed enquiry, had expressed their willingness to co-operate; it might even be found possible to induce the employers to advise the Council of vacancies about to occur. It is probable that many parents, provided that they were assured that their child were taught a trade thoroughly, would be willing to sacrifice the advantage of immediate large earnings for the sake of the better opening in life which the receipt of the smaller earnings at the outset would afford. It is no doubt true that many of the poorer parents would be unable to forego the larger earnings. In cases of this kind it is possible that the Council would be willing to increase the bursary in order to enable the child to take the more favourable,

though, for the time being, less remunerative situation. Such a course would not differ in kind from the procedure adopted in the award of the Junior County Council Scholarships. Here, under certain conditions, a maintenance grant is added to the free tuition, in order to induce the parent to allow the child to remain longer at school. The underlying principle is in each case the same. It is to the advantage of the community to supplement the earnings of the parent in order that in the person of the child it may obtain a more useful, because better trained and instructed, citizen."

We must look eventually to establishing a new half-time system. Under the old half-time system the boy went to work while he was still at school; under the new he will remain at school after he goes to work. A factory will contain two shifts of boys—the one at the bench in the morning and in the school during the afternoon, the other in the school during the morning and at the bench in the afternoon, or boys will be allowed to work only in the morning, or perhaps only on three days a week.

It is here we must introduce compulsory attendance. Every child up to the age of sixteen (and later we may hope eighteen) will be compelled to spend either his morning or his afternoon in school. Such a regulation cannot probably at the present moment be enforced, and for the time being we must, while holding it in view as an ultimate object to be secured, encourage the suggestions contained in the report. They are summarised in the following words:—

"At the end of this somewhat lengthy report we may perhaps be allowed to essay the task of presenting in a single picture the kinds of training which will take the place of the old indentured apprenticeships—a training which the Council should endeavour, as the years go by,

to call into being. Ignoring details and passing over the transition period, we may look forward to see realised some such system as that outlined below. The boy, as he leaves the elementary school, will have offered him, provided he possesses the required ability, the choice of two distinct courses of instruction which will assure him an all-round training in a skilled trade. There will be on the one hand the 'part-time' system in which he will spend a portion of the week in the workshops and the remainder in the day technical school, and on the other there will be evening classes, which a better co-operation with the employers will render more effective and less interrupted by the working of long hours in the factory. In certain cases scholarships carrying free tuition and a maintenance grant will be awarded to the day students to compensate for the small earnings received during the years of training. Other scholarships of less value will be allowed to some of the evening students in order to encourage regularity of attendance. But it is probable that the growing intelligence of the employer will cause him to insist that apprentices who do not attend the day classes must be present at the evening school. From this class of student will be drawn the skilled worker of the future, whose ability is not sufficient to raise him, as a rule, to any of the higher positions in the industrial world.

"The boy, as he leaves the higher elementary school, will be able to enter the day trade school, either by paying the fees himself or winning one of the trade scholarships which will carry with it free tuition and a maintenance grant tenable for two or three years. With this stream of boys coming from the higher elementary school will mingle another stream of boys who, having won Junior County Council scholarships and completed their course at the secondary school, have competed for one of the trade scholarships, either from choice or from inability to win an intermediate scholarship. From this class of student will be drawn the future foremen and managers of industrial undertakings. Finally a development of the Senior County Council scholarships will make it

possible, not only for the intermediate scholars, but also for certain of the holders of trade scholarships to proceed for the highest technological instruction in the engineering, electrical, chemical, or other industries, to the University. From these will be drawn, we may hope, the future inventor, the future managers of large businesses, and the future captains of industry. A somewhat less elaborate system will afford similar facilities for girls. It is probable that many years will elapse before a complete ladder of industrial scholarships will be constructed. But if the Londoner is to hold his own with the rest of England, and if England is to maintain her high position in the industrial world, the formation of a graduated system of technical training must be regarded as one of the most crying needs of the day and one of the most urgent duties of the Council."

(7.) *General Conclusions.*

I have now completed my task of showing what contribution towards the making of citizens the State may fairly ask of the schools in return for all the money expended upon them. I have endeavoured to keep the demands within due bounds and to avoid asking of the teacher, as is frequently done, the performance of miracles. It is idle to cry down the work of elementary education because, after only thirty years of effort, the kingdom of Heaven is not yet firmly established on this poor earth. The influence of the teacher is limited because his time is limited, because he has to deal with large classes and not with individuals, and lastly, because human nature cannot be refashioned in a single generation. Taking into account all the difficulties with which he has had to contend, the wonder is not that he has done so little, but that he has done so much.

The fact that the teacher has overcome so many difficulties in the past must stand as my excuse for asking him to overcome further difficulties in the future. One supreme advantage of priceless worth the school can boast—the advantage that comes from an effort consciously directed towards the securing of a clearly defined end. For the only time in his whole career the child is subjected to such an influence. Hereafter he becomes the plaything of the wild hurly-burly of such accidental and unthinking forces as are contained in the environment. But for a few precious years we have him under our control, can order his environment and strive to impress upon him a certain type of character, so that he may leave our hands a nearer approximation to that ideal citizen such as fancy loves to imagine.

Our strength lies in concentration of effort and co-ordination of aim. It is because I feel that these factors have been too often neglected, or drowned in the froth of rhetorical verbiage, that I have ventured to add another paper to the wide literature of education. In reading over what I have written I cannot conceal from myself the suspicion that I have often wandered far from the province of the layman and have strayed over the borders of the sacred precincts of pedagogy. My defence must be a desire for clearness. I had hoped to present the demands of the man in the street without troubling myself about how they were to be met. But objects and the means of attainment are so closely interlocked, that it was impossible to explain only the first and at the same time remain intelligible. The objects are, however, alone of

importance, and others, with practical experience of teaching, will be able to suggest better methods of attack. Let me here, at the conclusion of this lengthy chapter, summarise the "wants" that the school should strive to satisfy.

First, we want habits, because habits alone render tolerable the drudgery and the routine of life and secure stability of character. Looking at the life of the town child, and taking into account the influence of the environment, we need chiefly habits of regularity, habits of accuracy, habits of obedience, habits of attention, habits of order, habits of self-control, and habits of cleanliness, using the last term in its widest significance.

Next we want interests, as varied as possible, so that leisure hours may not hang heavy on a man's hands.

Finally, we want imagination, because without it the world remains a dead and inert mass; while with it the world is become a place of living wonder, and because also imagination is the sole guide who can lead us towards a saner and a richer civilisation.

It is probable that the man in the street will not be satisfied with these modest demands. He will complain that nothing has been said of religion, while the subject of moral instruction has been no less ignored. If he mean by this that there has been no reference to dogmatic religious teaching and dogmatic moral lessons, included as a definite part of the curriculum, I must plead guilty to the charge. But the omission was deliberate. The subject of religion rouses so many controversies that it is best dealt with by itself; the same may be said of moral instruction. Both involve certain

views of life and an appeal to those views in support of the lessons.

If, however, the man in the street means that I have ignored religion and morality, as contained implicitly in the school-training, he has gone sadly astray, for I have been speaking of hardly anything else. Habits are nothing but morality, adapted to the work and serious business of existence; interest is mixed morality and religion, applied to our times of leisure; while imagination is almost pure religion, or at any rate the raw material of religion. We cannot present the great drama of real life as unfolded in history, or the great drama of ideal life as revealed in literature and art, without trenching deeply on the province of morality and on the province of religion. It is true that we study both in their tangled setting of human struggle and human aspiration, and not in the abstract purity of impersonal isolation. There are those that think that little is lost and perhaps something gained by this method of approaching the spiritual forces of the world. But all this is another story and will be considered later. Sufficient unto the present chapter are the burden and the length thereof.

CHAPTER III

THE STATE AND RELIGION

(1) Religion and Non-Religion; (2) Concurrent Endowment; (3) The Secular Solution; (4) The Neutrality of the State.

MORE than once in the course of the present work the subject of religion has cropped up dangerously near the surface, but on every occasion the question has been deliberately avoided. It was necessary, even at the expense of a certain incompleteness, to adopt this course. The problems involved are so complex, and so infested with a thorny tangle of prejudice, that the only hope of presenting the matter in a way not open to misunderstanding is to present it as a whole.

The subject of the religious training of children divides itself naturally into two divisions: the part played by the State and the part played by individual enterprise. There are, of course, people who urge that the State ought to have nothing to do with religion; there are likewise people who urge that the State ought to have nothing to do with trams or a water-supply. Those opposed on principle to State enterprise will naturally view with distrust any meddling by the State in the affairs of the various denominations. But the advocates of State enterprise cannot, on theoretical grounds alone, restrict its activity in this direction. They must not at the outset of the discussion assume an attitude of hostility and thrust the State

rudely from the doors of church or chapel. On the contrary, we should rather expect that the sphere of religion belonged in a special degree to the State's sphere of influence; and men might well argue that religion was far too important a matter to be left unrestrictedly to the spasmodic and partial action of individual enterprise. On general principles no objection can be advanced against the existence of a municipal church which cannot also be used against a municipal library or a municipal wash-house.

It is no doubt true that experience may show that State interference in matters of religion is attended by very undesirable consequences; but experience in this, as in other matters, and not prejudice, must give the casting vote. Try all things and hold fast to that which is good, should be the motto of the advocate of collective action. Such a person would, for example, gaily recommend his Town Council to create a department for the design and sale of ladies' bonnets. Conceivably, owing to the variegated and fastidious tastes of the feminine sex, the venture would prove a failure. Such a result would indeed be a reason for concluding the experiment, but would afford no valid ground for condemning in advance its initiation. In a similar manner, it may be with religion as with ladies' bonnets; experience may show that the demand is so capricious that the broad hand of the State only brings disaster wherever it is thrust. We must therefore approach the subject with an open mind; least of all can the supporters of State enterprise bring with them a store of theoretical and highly imaginative objections.

(1.) *Religion and Non-Religion.*

In dealing with so vague and comprehensive a term as religion, it is advisable to give to the word a precise meaning. For the purposes of the present discussion there is no need of any very subtle definition. So far as their views respecting the world and its order are concerned, men may be divided into two classes.

First there are the men who, watching the steady progress of science, and noting how one by one the strongholds of ignorance are being carried by assault, have asserted that by the methods of science alone can truth be discovered. The world is to them nothing but the manifestation of order, of cause and effect working in unbroken succession according to laws, which science has already ascertained or may hope to determine. There is, in short, no outstanding factor which from its nature cannot be found a place in this galaxy of harmonies. The difficulties of exact prediction lie in the complexity of the calculation involved, and not in the existence of any perturbing or inexplicable power. Some have denied that there is any such power, others have asserted that no proof of his being can be found; but both agree that his action and interference in the affairs of the universe may, for all practical purposes, be entirely disregarded.

In the second place there are the men who assert the existence of this perturbing factor. Agreeing often in nothing else, they are at one in the belief that some power, standing outside the rule of science and not amenable to her instruments of observation, has its say in the march of this world's pageant. The sphere of its influence has

been marked out differently by different persons. On the one side there are those who see its hand and trace its action everywhere, in the physical world as well as in the domain of morals. At the other extremity are those who limit the interference of this power to changes wrought in the heart of man. Between the two there is an infinite series of gradations. But notwithstanding all differences they unite in affirming that this perturbing factor counts for something in human affairs.

These two views may be called respectively the view of non-religion and the view of religion. Every person who thinks at all can be included in one or other of these divisions. Even the most ignorant would be able to say into which compartment he should be placed, while even the most learned would find little difficulty in selecting his appropriate position. Every man has a tag attached to him, marked religious or non-religious; the distinction is fundamental and goes to the root of the matter. He may not find it easy to sub-classify himself as Anglican, Catholic, or Nonconformist; he may very probably be unable to define accurately the action of the power, but on the bare fact of its existence and on the reality of its influence he would *at any particular moment* be able to express an opinion.

Towards these two views of the world, the view of religion and the view of non-religion, what attitude ought the State to assume? Since it has undertaken the task of education, and since, in addition, it compels the children to come to school, it cannot evade the difficulty by a policy of ingenious inaction. Democratic principles would forbid preference to either, so far as this can be avoided.

There would appear therefore only two alternatives from which to choose: the State must either include in, or else exclude from, its teaching both these conflicting views.

In a hesitating manner up to the present the State has endeavoured to include both the views of religion and the views of non-religion. The first half-hour has been devoted to religious teaching, in other words to the presentation of the first view. The remainder of the school day has been devoted to what is called secular instruction and is supposed to embody the second view. Those who avail themselves of the conscience clause are able to obtain for their children at least a portion of the creed of non-religion without any admixture of the opposing and erroneous hypothesis. It is true that they do not secure instruction in the more definite part of their faith; in other words, the children are not distinctly taught that the world can go on very well without the existence of what has previously been called the perturbing factor. Ethical societies have undoubtedly good cause for complaint, though under the 1902 Act they could, if they so desired, have schools of their own.

But strange to say, the objections against the present system have never been seriously raised by the advocates of non-religion; they have invariably come from among the ranks of the supporters of religion. The battle of the schools has always been a fight between the various religious denominations. To any thoughtful person this quaint truth must be very surprising. For the real irreconcilable difference of opinion lies, as has been shown, between the view of religion and the view

of non-religion. In considering the duty of the State, this bed-rock distinction must not be dropped out of sight. Bearing this in mind, it is possible now to consider the two alternatives—the endowment of all creeds, generally termed concurrent endowment, and the endowment of no creeds, usually known as the secular solution.

(2.) *Concurrent Endowment.*

There are, as has been pointed out, two views of the world, the view of religion and the view of non-religion. From the point of view of fair treatment both must be placed on an equality. But the matter does not end here. Difficulties thicken with every step. Endless variations of religion exist; and to give to one denomination privileges withheld from another, is to adopt a course which can never lead to a final settlement. The day has gone by when the State can step down into the arena and lend its support to one particular creed. It must hold the scales evenly and not throw its weight on that side which happens to hold a majority in the House of Commons. In questions, other than those touching religion, this has now become a well-recognised maxim. A Liberal Government does not, for example, neglect the education of children of Conservative parents or seek to convert them to the true faith; it offers to all alike the same training and the same opportunities, irrespective of political opinions. Similar considerations should be observed in the sphere of religion. The function of the State is not to make men Anglicans, or Catholics, or Nonconformists; its duty is to make Anglicans better Anglicans, Catholics better Catholics, Non-

conformists better Nonconformists. Any tolerable solution of the religious difficulty must avoid preferential treatment.

Is there not, it is often urged, some basis of belief, common to all the different denominations and, as such, capable of being taught in the schools of the people? If this were the case, we should have an easy and fair solution of the difficulty. Experience, however, shows that it is not possible to draw up a syllabus acceptable to all, or indeed to any large majority of the many religious bodies.

It is frequently urged that the simple bible-teaching, current in the provided schools, ought to give satisfaction to every one. But the State is concerned not with what people ought, but with what they are prepared, to accept. One man has as good a right as another to be heard when his opinions are in question. Directly we appeal to the testimony of individuals, we discover a large body of persons, running to several millions, who exhibit the most stubborn hostility to what is usually known as undenominationalism. All Christians may agree that the truth, which forms the essence of their creed, can be found in the bible, but all Christians will not allow that anyone can find it there.

We here touch the fundamental difference between Protestantism and Catholicism. The Catholics say that the Church must interpret the bible. The truth doubtless is there, but so are all the heresies which, for our sins, have plagued us these thousand years. There is only one truth and many heresies; hence in the lottery of bible-teaching the odds are the child draws a heresy. And to draw a heresy is worse than to draw a blank; there

is something positively bad about a heresy, which must be eradicated, while in the case of a blank, at least the child retains an open and unbiassed mind. On the other hand, Protestantism is built on the assumption that if you put the simple bible into the hands of the simple-minded man, he will, from the simple reading of the same, extract therefrom a simple saving truth, and rests, moreover, on the assertion that this saving truth is the saving truth of Protestantism. Now bible-teaching exactly fulfils the desire of Protestants. There is the simple teacher with the bible in his hand, and there is the simple-minded child, to whom it is interpreted by the simple-minded teacher. Catholics therefore rightly complain that the institution of bible-teaching involves the establishment of an agency which proselytises in the cause of Protestantism. In addition it must be borne in mind that neither the Jews nor the Unitarians can be said to regard bible-teaching as embodying, or even harmonising with, the principles of their religion.

Failing to discover in the bible any common meeting-ground for the various denominations, we must fall back on the plan of trying to include their distinctive beliefs in the general system of education. It is often pointed out that this course is impossible on account of the number of different sects. Practically there is no real difficulty. Ireland has solved the problem; Scotland has done the same; in parts of the Continent at least six different forms of religion are taught in the schools. If people set their minds to find a solution, it could be found to-morrow. The simplest plan would be for certain schools, or sections of schools, to be earmarked for

the use of the various denominations. The demand for any particular form of instruction would be made by the parents and not by the religious body. A religious organisation must not be allowed to turn the schools into a proselytising agency; the parent alone must decide.

It is probable that, if this course were adopted, a diminution in the number of the distinctively denominational schools would be the result. A considerable section of the parents, who care little about such matters, and the Nonconformists would rest content with bible-teaching. A portion of the Anglican Church, the Roman Catholics, the Jews and Wesleyans, would require special treatment. In certain districts the Unitarians and the Ethical Societies might demand their own schools. All schools would of course be under the full control of the Local Authorities. The bitterness of the present crisis, and the difficulty of administering the 1902 Act, lie not in the complexity of the case, but in the grievances, some real and some imaginary, which have prevented any serious attempt to discover a settlement. If the opposing parties can feel assured that equal justice is being meted out, the tangle of the existing quarrels could easily be unravelled.

It must, however, be admitted that a scheme of this kind cannot be worked in the face of any considerable recalcitrant and obstinate minority. In days gone by the conduct of the Church in one-school areas, or in districts without sufficient provided schools, has sown the seeds of bitterness, and the crop is now ripening to harvest. The Nonconformist was given the choice between no religious

teaching for his child or a form of religious teaching which did violence to his conscience. The Church should never have tolerated a position of this kind, and the consequences of its culpable indifference are now being reaped. At the present time the Nonconformists stand in the way of concurrent endowment. They refuse to pay for any kind of religious teaching with which they disagree. On the other hand it is unfair to provide at the expense of public funds for the giving of that bible-teaching which is acceptable to Nonconformists but which receives the unqualified approval of no other religious organisation. We must therefore consider the second alternative, where the State contents itself with providing secular teaching and secular teaching only. Whether the Nonconformists will be willing, in order to secure the bible-teaching they desire, to pay the price of concurrent endowment, only the future can say; but the trend of events is not in this direction.

(3.) *The Secular Solution.*

There is, it must be confessed, something very attractive in the picture of the State lifting, as it were, the hem of its garments from out the mud of religious controversy, and passing on its way in serene indifference to the clamour of the many contending factions. But before awarding to this so-called secular solution the seal of our unqualified approval, it is necessary to submit the scheme to a searching examination. We start with the assumption that the State must not merely assume an attitude of neutrality towards all forms of religion, but also mete out the same impartial treat-

ment to the cause of non-religion. In the efforts to escape from the religious whirlpool of Charybdis, we must take heed lest we fall into the jaws of the non-religious Scylla. The exclusive endowment of non-religion is no more equitable than the preferential treatment of one particular denomination. To steer a true course may well entail more difficulties than are usually imagined.

Any scheme of education, worthy of the name, must end by impressing on the mind of the child some picture of the world in which he lives, and some idea of the forces at work there. What view of the world will he derive from a course of purely secular instruction? To answer this question we must examine the materials on which secular instruction can draw. It is generally supposed that the school curriculum can be divided into two portions, the one termed religious and the other secular. It is further assumed that these sections form two water-tight compartments, without any channels of intercommunication, or any contents common to both. Men have urged that the first is concerned only with religion, and the second solely with secular matters free from any admixture of religion. Now, it is clear that such an hypothesis is artificial and incapable of being verified in practice. History, for example, is filled with religion, and religion likewise saturates the best literature. Australia at one time tried to solve the problem by editing its own text-books and assiduously excised from them all allusions to the Deity and religion. This ingenious plan was afterwards abandoned, and is not likely to be revived in this country.

Ignoring for the moment this initial difficulty

which reaches, however, near to the heart of the matter, let us assume that the divorce between religion and secular instruction has been made absolute. What view of the world will the child derive from his lessons? The answer is clear. He sees the world with the eye of science.

His geographical lessons teach him the disposition of land and water, and, to some extent, explain the reasons of the present arrangement. He hears how in days long gone the earth was a place of tempestuous heat and molten matter, and learns how in the course of cooling some portions of the land were thrust up and others depressed. The denuding action of rain and frost is discussed; and the picture left on his mind is the picture of a world slowly evolving under the action of forces hidden within its womb. There is here nothing but an unbroken sequence of cause and effect.

History sings the same refrain and merely substitutes conscious beings for unconscious matter. The child, as he surveys the evolving panorama of civilisation and watches the intricate play of motive and clashing interest, is taught to regard the actions of men and nations alike as capable of precise explanation and amenable to exact prediction. Again there is nothing but an unbroken sequence of cause and effect.

Physical science takes up the chorus and reinforces the same lesson with an added resonance. The picture is now presented to the child illumined by high lights and decked out with startlingly novel colouring. He is able to watch the process of change going on under his own hands. Practical work in a laboratory enables him to introduce causes

and to wait for the effects. To accustom him to seek in every effect for a cause, or in every cause for an effect, is the avowed object of this part of the curriculum. We teach science in order to build up in the mind a vivid idea of a world where law and order reign, and where events follow one another in an unbroken sequence of cause and effect.

If any interpolation of direct moral instruction is permitted, since we are not at liberty to appeal to religious or teleological considerations, we must rest our lessons on the basis of some utilitarian sanction, where virtue goes hand in hand with happiness and success. In short, we must show that cause and effect dominate the moral world with the same indisputable sway they exercise over the universe of inanimate matter.

Throughout the course of instruction all mention of what has been termed the perturbing factor will have been omitted, because all such allusions are inconsistent with the assumptions on which we are working. But a curriculum of this character is nothing but an embodiment of the creed of non-religion. It includes all the positive teaching contained in this view of the world and keeps silence only about the negations.

But by implication this secular teaching does drive home the negative lesson of non-religion—and that, moreover, in the most effective manner. It does not indeed deny the existence of the perturbing power, a denial which would find favour with few of the non-religious, but, by presenting phenomena as caught up in a chain of cause and effect, shows that such a power is altogether unnecessary. It explains how the world, whether

looked at from the moral or physical side, gets on well enough without the interpolation of any non-natural factor. And to do this is to present the view of non-religion in its most incisive and compelling form.

For it must always be borne in mind that there are two ways of guarding against the adoption of any opinion—the positive and the negative. In the first case the teacher minutely describes the wrong view, pointing out its difficulties, its inconsistencies and its errors. In the second, keeping silence about what is false, he dwells only on what is true, exhibiting its advantages, its cogency and its harmonies. Psychologists are unanimous in affirming the superior efficiency of the negative method of instruction. If you want, they urge, to teach a child to avoid sin, do not draw up a catalogue of sins and dilate on the enormities of each; say nothing about sin at all, but enlarge on the joys and the blessings of virtue. To talk at length of sin is to make the pupil familiar with its manifestations, and consequently to risk acquainting him with its alluring aspect. Instead, therefore, of leading your pupil to avoid vice, you may end by assisting him to succumb to its attractions. This rule, usually observed in the sphere of morality, is equally valid in the domain of mental training. If you want to teach the error of some particular theory, exclude it carefully from your lessons. It has admittedly commended itself to certain persons: it may easily commend itself to your pupil. If, for example, you desire to induce children to disbelieve in the existence of a God, leave Him out of your lessons and explain the world in such a way as to make His existence superfluous.

The influence of this secular instruction, which ignores, though it does not actually controvert, the view of religion, is all the more momentous because we happen to be dealing with young children. It is difficult to overestimate the stereotyping effect of impressions made on a brain which is still plastic. The intellect grows to these early lessons; and ideas, accepted during youth, carry with them into later years a wealth of familiar association, a warmth and a homeliness, which rarely belong to the more pretentious knowledge acquired in the days of manhood. Just as habit of action governs our decisions in the sphere of conduct, so habit of mind is the arbiter of our opinions. Now the teaching in question encourages a habit of mind which looks for the order of science in the world and for that order only. Any notion, therefore, which might suggest the possible interruption of that order, comes to the child as a stranger, clad in the cold garb of novelty, and is apt to be rebuffed rather than welcomed.

Now to this argument there are those who reply that religion has no quarrel with non-religion, so far as concerns the pageant of the material world. Both alike agree that in general the world is an arena for the display of the forces of order; why then cannot the State content itself with the presentation of that order, leaving the religious bodies free to add to the garb of the universe such frills and furbelows as may suit their fancy? Surely a compromise on such a basis might be regarded as fair and lasting.

But this compromise must be declared inequitable for several reasons. The settlement belongs

to that kind of compromise in which one side obtains full satisfaction of its desires, while the other is sent away empty-handed. As already shown, the view of non-religion has been put under the wing of State-patronage, while the ideas of religion receive no corresponding support. In the long run individual initiative must go down before the larger resources of collective enterprise. On the one side we have the State using the terrors of the law to secure the children's attendance. Compulsion drives them into the school and there submits them to a huge army of carefully trained and well-paid teachers, whose duty it is to impress on the pupils the picture of the world as a place of unbroken order, where effect follows after cause, nose to tail, like a flock of sheep passing through a gate. On the other side stand the religious bodies, with their scanty funds depleted by the rate in aid of secular instruction, with an inadequate number of amateur teachers, with no power to enforce attendance, and with little more than a single day at their disposal wherewith to supplement the deficiencies of the publicly financed schools. In the face of such a disproportionate array of forces the issue cannot long remain in doubt. Universal secular teaching in reality implies the teaching of univeral secularism, and is in fact the State-endowment of universal non-religion. Now the view of non-religion may represent the true view of the world; but the State has no concern with truth, as such, and considering the continued existence of conflicting theories, cannot escape the charge of preferential treatment if it favour non-religion at the expense of religion.

It is necessary to bear these considerations in

mind and to recognise clearly the tendencies of a really secular education. The startling unfairness of this compromise, so far as concerns the party of religion, is manifest; but none the less, in the face of their persistent quarrels, there may be no other alternative. In the cause of peace and social reform, some policy must be adopted which will end Passive Resistance, Lancashire processions and Albert Hall demonstrations. If we cannot give the contending denominations what they all desire, we can at least give them what they all dislike. Instead of equality of pleasure, the State can at any rate assure them the untroubled enjoyment of equality of pain.

It is possible that for a time secular teaching, empty of all religious significance, might hold the field. But it is doubtful whether this solution would be regarded as final. There is a very considerable body of people who maintain that a country which fosters a system of education without religion is in a worse plight than a country which is without any system of education. You are, they say, putting into the hands of children the keen weapons of a trained intelligence and neglecting to take the only precautions which can insure the proper use of the powers you develop. To men who urge that such schools are turning out potential burglars and malefactors, it is no valid answer to retort that they are at any rate burglars endowed with very superior house-breaking qualities and malefactors equipt with a unique ingenuity in the art of evil-doing.

Here, then, we appear to have drifted into a hopeless *impasse*. The only solution, through and through fair—concurrent endowment—is rendered

impossible in the face of the stubborn resistance of the Nonconformist. Secular teaching, which promised a way out, is merely the endowment of non-religion and, as such, unlikely to secure the final approval of the nation. We are, it would seem, destined to end our days circling round the bottomless whirlpool of religious controversy.

(4.) *The Neutrality of the State.*

But is the situation quite as hopeless as it appears? Do those, who now advocate secular teaching, really mean what they say when they assert that the State, in matters of education, should cut itself adrift from all connection with religion? In the next breath they tell us that they have no wish to turn the bible out of the schools, but would be glad to encourage its use as a primer of literature. Nor, again, do they exhibit any strong desire to edit the text-books or exclude from the curriculum the works of the best authors, whose writings, as already mentioned, are filled with allusions to religion.

But if the bible and the classics of the English language are introduced into the schools and taught as literature, an important consequence, usually overlooked, follows as a matter of course. Literature has regard to two things—to the nature of the thought contained, and to the form in which that thought is conveyed. To paraphrase Kant, form without thought is empty, thought without form is blind. It is only the minor poet who in his works presents form without thought; and to the credit of the staunchest advocates of secular teaching, be it said, they have never displayed any very strenuous enthusiasm for the minor poet. If, therefore,

we intend to teach the children literature, we cannot ignore the thought, while calling attention solely to the form; and if the thought is concerned with matters of religion, we cannot escape excursions into that realm, always supposing we desire to be intelligible. In consequence, if the bible and the best literature are introduced into the schools, though there may be no definite religious instruction, there will be a great deal of teaching about religion.

Further, those who say that the Government should have nothing to do with religion usually quote the United States as a signal example of the success of a purely secular education. But to apply the word secular to this system is surely a misnomer. To justify this statement it is enough to quote a few passages from the instructions issued to teachers of New York in respect to what is called ethical training—

"Reverence," these instructions say, "is vital to morality. Whatever quickens in children the feeling of dependence on a 'Higher Power'; whatever leads them to wonder at the order, beauty or mystery of the universe, whatever arouses in them the sentiment of worship, or fills them with admiration of true greatness, promotes reverence.

"The corner-stone of a self-respecting character is principle, the will to be true to the right because it is right, whatever the consequences, to act with firmness in the right as God gives to us to see the right."

Surely a State which makes use in its instructions of such words as "A Higher Power," "mystery of the universe," "the right as God gives us to see the right," can hardly be said to have no dealings with religion.

Here at length we are beginning to see light.

The advocates of the secular solution do not intend to say, what they are sometimes made to say, that all allusions to religion should be sedulously kept out of the public system of education. They have not clearly expressed their meaning, though they have a real meaning of fundamental importance. They are anxious to end the dual curriculum found at the present in nearly every school. The time-table is divided into two portions—the one devoted to religious instruction and the other to the so-called secular subjects; and there is supposed to be no intercommunication between the two. Now the proposal in question seeks to sweep away the first part and to retain only the second. Since the various Codes of the Board of Education have generally regarded this second part of the school day as "the time devoted to secular instruction," it has become the custom to give the name "secular solution" to that suggestion which would confine the energies of the State to this section of the curriculum. As already shown, this secular instruction connotes a good deal more than is usually imagined. The expression is unfortunate, smacking as it does of secularism, and in consequence offends persons who might otherwise be prepared to accept and even welcome what is really intended by the unhappy term "secular solution."

Looking at the trend of events, it appears probable that we are drifting towards some such solution as has been outlined. It will therefore be advisable to examine the matter a little more closely, in the hope of freeing the proposal from the rather forbidding appearance it assumes in the eyes of sundry worthy folk.

First, during the hours of compulsory attendance, no religious teaching will be included as a definite part of the curriculum. On the other hand there will be nothing to prevent teaching about religion. In other words, allusions to religion, as they occur in history or in literature, will be interpreted with sufficient amplification to render the passages and their purport intelligible to the children. The teacher must be left a perfectly free hand to give such explanations as he considers desirable. Selections of the bible will be read as part of the reading lesson or learned by heart as portions of the year's recitation.

Secondly, special attention will be given to the task of fostering the imagination. Imagination is not merely, as already mentioned, the source of the higher pleasures, it also supplies the soil in which alone religion can flourish, and acts as sort of counterweight to the one-sided tendencies of a scientific or really secular education. Now we can cultivate the soil without sowing therein the seed of any particular denomination. We would not have the child grow up ignorant of those great spiritual forces which, whatever their explanation or inner significance may be, have played so great a part in religious uprisings, in political movements, in social revolutions, and in the inspired writings of men of genius. However we may interpret the matter to ourselves, the annals of the world reveal to us the existence of mighty chymic agencies capable, and alone capable, of rousing a whole nation from lethargy, and of heralding the approach of a new, a nobler and a happier era. Any training worthy the name must reveal the existence of these phenomena, which transcend the limits of ordinary

experience. History, literature and kindred subjects must loom more largely in the curriculum than has heretofore been the case. Teachers will be made to understand that their pupils must learn to look out upon the world not only with the keen, the analytical and at the same time the narrow survey of science; they must also see the affairs of humanity, and see them as a whole, with the wide ranging eye of the imagination. The ideal in education must not be sacrificed or subordinated to the exigencies of the real.

Thirdly, readers will be anxious to know what part direct moral teaching will play in the system of education now under discussion. The answer presents no difficulty; religion and morality have so much in common that they must both be treated alike. We have already proposed to destroy the dual curriculum, so far as religion is concerned; we must be careful not to introduce a new dual curriculum in which morality shall usurp the position formerly held by religion. No part of the school day can therefore be set aside for direct moral instruction. Unless we adopt this course we shall be compelled to draw up a syllabus of moral lessons; and we cannot do this without, either explicitly or implicitly, recognising some guiding principle which involves the notion of a sanction or a teleological theory. Religion cannot be this guiding principle, or we shall be false to the hypothesis on which we are working. Utilitarianism is definitely hostile to religion, and must therefore be ruled out, while intuitionism shares the fault of all middle courses and is acceptable to neither of the extreme wings, and partakes of the dangers of both.

It would, however, be erroneous to suppose that there will be no moral training. The proposal under discussion has been shown not to exclude incidental teaching about religion; in the same way it will encourage incidental moral instruction. "It should be," say the New York Instructions already quoted, "the aim of every teacher to make each part of the life of the school count for moral education." Nothing could be expressed better. Moral instruction divorced from the remainder of the curriculum, as would be the case if taught *ad hoc*, becomes meaningless and ineffective. Morality is a part of life, and enters everywhere into life, and must be shown to children in its setting of actual events. History and literature and the general discipline of the school will be the vehicles in which the lessons are conveyed. It would be disastrous to the cause of morality, as it has undoubtedly been disastrous to the cause of religion, to adopt a policy of isolation and present the principles of conduct done up in neat little parcels, as things complete in themselves. Children will then look on morality as a sort of addition to life, and will regard it, like the paper frills used to decorate the naked bone of a ham, as a sort of adventitious ornament, attractive perhaps, but without any real connection with the solid meat. Difficulties in religious or moral instruction only begin when a definite time is assigned them in the curriculum. Immediately they become objects which must be judged by themselves without reference to the other portions of the school course, and, in their detached position, assume fantastic forms, open either to ridicule or to censure.

Fourthly, as will appear later, the school is one

of the organisations of society, and, as such, marks a stage in the realisation of the common brotherhood of humanity, on whose due recognition all progress depends. We want to give expression to the sentiment involved, and thus to help the children to understand that their school is not a mere collection of detached units, but possesses a corporate life of its own. Some ceremony, in which they all share, should therefore mark the close and the beginning of the day's work. The teacher must here be allowed a free hand, and should not be forbidden to open and to close with a hymn or prayer. Beyond this, whether in the sphere of religion or morality, the State will not go.

On the other hand, the State will not throw any obstacle in the way of ethical and religious organisations using the schools and employing the teachers to give the more definite instruction. The lessons must be held before or after the hours of compulsory attendance. Experience has shown that, unless this is the case, we are really invoking the arm of the law to coerce the children in the interests of this or that creed. If, however, we can avoid this danger, there can be no reason for forbidding the teachers to give the lessons. Further, since the education areas are now large, it is possible, at any rate in towns, to segregate in certain schools teachers belonging to various denominations, without involving any injury to the teaching profession as a whole. At the present time the London County Council encourages Jewish teachers to go to schools largely attended by Jewish children, and endeavours to staff the cookery centres, used by Jewish girls, with teachers of that faith. If this plan were adopted

in all schools and for all forms of belief, and it could be done, the value of the facilities for imparting definite instruction would be immensely increased, and certain sections of the community would be reconciled to the new state of affairs.

Finally, we want a name for this solution. The name "secular solution" is forbidding and stands as a fatal bar in the way of its adoption. We have endeavoured to steer a middle course between the views of religion and non-religion, and to hold the scales evenly weighed in respect of all the diverse creeds of the community. Let us therefore call this solution, which aims at keeping the State neutral throughout, the "Neutrality of the State."

But what will be the final effect of the neutrality of the State as it stands reflected in the character of the children? The question does not admit of any easy answer, or indeed of any single answer. The general result will probably vary from place to place and from time to time. The guiding principle of the solution in question is to be sought in the fact that the teacher will be permitted great freedom; neither by way of a prescribed syllabus, nor by way of prohibition, will he find his action fettered. He will indeed be forbidden to include a course of definite religious instruction as part of the curriculum, but he will not otherwise be debarred from speaking freely about religion when the subject crops up in the matter of the school work. Certain not unimportant consequences will follow.

First, there will be a freedom, a frankness and an absence of reserve about the lessons of the teacher, which have not hitherto been possible, at any rate in the provided schools. No doubt, in

the non-provided schools, where he is teaching the particular tenets of the denomination to which he belongs, this difficulty does not appear; but elsewhere very different conditions prevail. For we must remember that, while there may be such a thing as undenominational teaching, there is no such thing as an undenominational man. He has his own view of life, and the more thoughtful he is by nature, the more clearly accentuated and the more important in his own estimation will that view become. If he is called on to give a course of biblical or moral instruction, prescribed for him by some Public Authority, he is placed in a position of peculiar difficulty. He is compelled to speak constantly of the deepest problems of the universe, and at the same time driven to conceal his own individual solutions and to deal mainly in trivial platitudes. Now, be he never so transparently honest, and let him speak no word which he does not believe, the mere fact that he is always holding himself back and keeping silence concerning those truths, which are to him of final moment, will rob his lessons of that energising force and magnetic enthusiasm without which all religious and moral teaching is vain and worse than vain.

In this consideration lies the inherent defect of bible-teaching. When Mr Cowper-Temple invented his religion, the vast majority of educated people regarded the bible as an essentially historical document. Since then thirty years and more have rolled by, and the conclusions of the Higher Criticism and modern science have permeated among all sections of the community. The teachers cannot have escaped the effect of the new knowledge; how

then shall they deal with the bible? They are unwilling to ask to be relieved of the duty of giving this lesson, because they feel that they would thereby lose a useful vehicle for imparting moral instruction. On the other hand, they cannot speak freely about the bible to their pupils, because the parents, for all they know to the contrary, may be still under the domination of the old ideas. They are unpleasantly fixed on the horns of a dilemma, and we who placed them there are to blame. A good deal has been written about the grievance of tests for teachers, but it is here that we reach the real grievance—a grievance at once cruel to the teachers and disastrous to the children. We want to get the best we can out of the teacher in the direction of moral influence; and we shall never get that best so long as his lessons are confined to the narrow and narrowing channel of biblical instruction. Under the proposed solution these difficulties at once disappear. The teacher is allowed liberty and freedom of choice, and is given no specific syllabus to be worked through. And finally, picking his opportunities from moment to moment, he can use the best that is in him, without let or hindrance, to promote the highest interests of the children committed to his care.

Secondly, we must estimate the specific influences exerted on the child. In the first place we shall escape the evil of a system of education which accentuates the view of non-religion. Lessons on history and literature will make him familiar with the effects exerted by the spiritual forces of the universe, while the cultivation of the imagination will reveal to him worlds which the ordinary

survey of science neglects, because unable to explain.

But will this view of the world be presented in such a form as to appear real or attractive? The answer to this question depends on the teacher. A teacher without bias is a person who ought not to be a teacher at all. For in his bias lie his strength and individuality. If his bias is in favour of religion, that bias will be reflected in his lessons and embodied in the atmosphere of the school; if the bias is in the opposite direction, the effect will be correspondingly different.

The prevailing atmosphere of the school will therefore reflect the general views of the teaching profession. Now the teachers are drawn from the community as a whole, and very largely from those who begin their education in the elementary schools. It may therefore be expected that, as a body, they will represent the attitude the parents assume towards religion. To this statement there is, however, one important qualification. From their method of selection the teachers embody the better natural intelligence and the better trained intelligence of the people. This superior ability will be apparent in their religious convictions. In other words, the views which the teachers hold touching the ultimate problems of life will be a little in advance of those accepted by the community as a whole, and will, to some extent, indicate the prevailing drift of thought. If, therefore, they are permitted to impress their opinions on the children, they will slightly accelerate the approach of those changes, which are in any case inevitable. This fact should appear, in the eyes of the religious and

the non-religious alike, an advantage rather than a defect in the proposed solution.

On the other hand, while this is true, the effect will be less marked than would be the case if the teachers were allowed a portion of the time-table in which to enforce their views. For, under no compulsion to give definite religious instruction, and indeed forbidden to do this, they will, with that natural good sense and honesty which has characterised their work in the past, avoid all attempt at active proselytising. Thus their pupils, while in part inevitably reflecting the attitude of the teacher, will escape the dangers of any strongly stereotyping influence. In general, though with some bias towards the teacher's view, they will retain that open mind which, however undesirable in a Prime Minister, is eminently to be prized in the case of a child.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHILD AND RELIGION

(1) The Three Factors in Religious Training; (2) The Total Reaction; (3) Crystallisation in Doctrine; (4) Realisation in Conduct.

WHETHER in the future the State is destined to play a part in the religious associations of the people, by awarding to all denominations alike the support of its impartial assistance, or whether it will stand aside and treat them with the impartiality of indifference, one truth ought in either case to be abundantly clear. There must, in matters of religion, remain a large province for the display of individual enterprise. A Public Authority cannot manage a church as it manages a school or a free library. For if it elect to endow religion, it must endow all forms of religion; and, since all cannot be equally true, it must reconcile its conscience to the endowment of error. But the consciousness of this fact offers a fatal bar to the development of that faith and fervent enthusiasm which are as the life-blood of every healthy religion. In the spiritual sphere collective management, though not collective aid, is out of place. Readers who may have resented the perpetual intrusion of the State throughout this volume, will find in the present chapter a freedom from this, to them, distressing habit, which may perhaps make glad their hearts. Whether they will find anything else to their liking is, however, another question.

I must confess to approaching the subject of religion with considerable misgiving. The problem is so overgrown with thorny controversies, that to be intelligible is difficult, to be convincing almost impossible. But the task is one that cannot well be avoided. To write a book about children and to ignore religion would be to omit what to many people is the final goal, or perhaps the sole purpose, of education. It would be like elaborately describing the incidents of a journey, while neglecting to mention the end the traveller had in view when first he took the road.

In order to prevent misunderstanding, it may be well to say in advance that I am holding a brief for no particular denomination, or indeed for any particular form of revelation. I shall be concerned more with methods of teaching and less with facts of religion. But since there is no such thing as method in the abstract, divorced altogether from concrete application, I cannot avoid the introduction of certain spiritual truths and spiritual experiences. In the main, however, they will belong to the common heritage and the groundwork of all creeds, while the edifice erected upon them can in general be left out of account.

(1.) *The Three Factors in Religious Training.*

In the religious, or for the matter of that in the non-religious, training of a child three factors must be carefully distinguished. There is, in the first place, what has been called a man's total reaction to the Universe. Apart from the many special reactions—the various emotions, impressions and ideas, which are the effect of his experience of individual

phenomena—there is, over and above these, a vague and yet intense feeling, which represents his attitude towards the totality of things. It is primarily a feeling, though the conceptual aspect hovers in a more or less distinct shape around the margin. Changing often from moment to moment, or sometimes remaining constant for years, it expresses at any one time his entire and generalised sentiment touching all that has gone on and is going on without and within him. In the first portion of this volume, when we were trying to estimate the effect of an urban environment on the character of the child, considerable space was devoted to this subject, and the matter need not detain us further here.

Secondly, as already mentioned, the conceptual aspect of this total reaction is never very far in the background. It is continually crystallising into a number of distinct dogmas and doctrines respecting the character of the world. Man has been eager to explain first to himself, and then to others, the significance of these generalised feelings; and to do this he must quit the domain of sentiment for the more definite region of logical assertion. In as much as it is not possible to eliminate the personal equation from man's experience, there is no reason for surprise if its precipitation in a series of propositions is marked by a considerable amount of variation. To this cause must be ascribed the many creeds of religion and the innumerable systems of philosophy.

Thirdly, man cannot run the business of existence on a total reaction to the Universe, or even on the generalised abstract of this reaction; he wants rules for the guidance of his daily life. Hence arise the various codes of morality with

which religious and ethical associations are largely concerned.

Whether a man belongs to the party of religion or to the party of non-religion, the crystallisation of the total reaction into definite dogmas and the rules for its realisation in conduct loom more or less largely in his theories of education. Sometimes one factor and sometimes another is given the most emphasis; the atmosphere, the setting, the interpretation admit of endless variation; but, whether with or without conscious design, all the factors play a part in the training of the child.

The factors have been defined in their logical and scientific order; but this method of procedure must not be interpreted to imply that in actual experience they necessarily follow this rule of succession. To some extent this is no doubt the case, but attempts are frequently made to reverse the order. Dogma often precedes experience or at any rate matured experience; and half the tragedy of life lies in the later efforts to square experience with the results of these earlier lessons.

(2.) *The Total Reaction.*

"Total reactions," says William James, "are different from casual reactions, and total attitudes are different from usual or professional attitudes. To get at them you must go behind the foreground of existence and reach down to that curious sense of the whole residual cosmos as an everlasting presence, intimate or alien, terrible or amusing, lovable or odious, which in some degree everyone possesses. This sense of the world's presence, appealing as it does to our peculiar individual temperament, makes us either strenuous or careless, devout or blasphemous, gloomy or exultant about life at large; and our reaction, involuntary and inarticulate and often half unconscious as it is, is the

completest of all our answers to the question, 'What is the character of this universe in which we dwell?' It expresses our individual sense of it in the most definite way."

A total reaction must not be regarded as a peculiar symptom of religion, it is merely a necessary accompaniment to life and consciousness. It comes to us without our asking, and, though its shape and colouring vary with different individuals, the broad outlines in any one spot and in any one age remain fairly uniform in appearance. If this were not so, all argument, which necessarily assumes some common basis of experience, would be impossible. Our waking life is a dream, only it happens, as Berkeley says, that all the dreamers are dreaming the same dreams.

Next, whether or no there are other mysterious forces which contribute to the final result, the total reaction is, at any rate to a large extent, the product of the ordinary environment. We are always engaged in carrying on business of a kind with our surroundings. Every smallest deal, however soon ignored by the waking memory, is none the less recorded. We have within us a silent accountant, ever making up the books of life and ever striking the balances. Periodically he presents to us an epitome and summary, representing the effect of the various transactions. We hold a sort of shareholders' meeting and hastily turn over the pages of the ledger and glance at the final figures of the profit and loss account of existence. This brief but general survey of our commercial relations with the Universe fills us with hope or despondency, leaves us cheery or depressed, inspires with a new resolution to forestall the results of the next settling-

day, or reconciles us, in impotent despair, to the inevitable bankruptcy of to-morrow.

The nature of the environment cannot therefore be ignored when we are considering the religious training of the child. Religion, as will appear later, has its own characteristic total reaction; it is folly on its part to disregard, as is too often the case, the forces which, whether with hostile or friendly intent, are leaving on the mind impressions never to be effaced. Its work is to modify, not to create, to add atmosphere and colouring to an existing picture, not to execute on a clean sheet of paper an entirely new work. "If," says someone, "a whole system of religious metaphysics did not dreamingly sleep within the child, how could the mental contemplation of infinity, God, eternity, holiness and the like be imparted to him, since we cannot communicate it by outward means and indeed are able only to arouse but not to create."

What, then, is the total reaction which is associated with the surroundings of a town? The question has been answered in the chapter on "Environment and Man." There is no need to go over the same ground again; it is only necessary to rehearse the conclusions already established. An attempt was made to exhibit in contrast the total reaction of a town and the total reaction of a village. It was shown how the survey of the works of Nature, written large over the countryside, awakened a consciousness of the existence of some power, lying as a permanent background behind the shifting scenes of the fugitive present; a power mysterious in its appearance, unfathomable in its workings, and without limit in the energy of its

manifestations. Fear was an essential element in the total reaction, but fear was not the sole element. This power was not hostile, nor even altogether indifferent to man's welfare. The birds of the air and the beasts of the field were given him for meat; the sky showered down rain for him to drink; and the warmth of the summer ripened for him the corn. Nature was spread out before him, that he might take of her gifts for his daily use. With the consciousness of this truth came a new orientation of his position. Instead of seeing himself a mere atom, tossed helpless amid the irremediable flux of pitiless forces, he saw the whole universe, before a wild chaos, resolving itself into an orderly cosmos, and circling round a single central point—and that central point was man. The power, revealed through nature, had created nature for him. He was the crown of all, the world's one priceless treasure. Fear was in part replaced by reverence; and the offering of himself was the sole fitting sacrifice he could make. Fear, awe, reverence, the feeling of the brooding presence of mystery, all these were elements in his total reaction.

But all these are elements which find no place in the total reaction of a town. The child sees there no sign of a mysterious power; all comes to him with the mark of man branded upon it, and man is a common and familiar thing. It is not Nature that brings him meat and bread, it is the butcher and the baker; it is not the heavens that give him water to drink, but a leaden pipe with a brass tap at one end; rain is merely a frequent and very unpleasant interruption to the joys of a day's outing. Within a town the environment opposes rather than fosters the

development of the peculiarly religious emotions. It is no less true that non-religion—at any rate that section which seeks to propagate the sentiment of mechanical order—fares equally badly and is awarded the same measure of discouragement. To religion and non-religion alike the forces of a city display a spirit of impartial enmity.

To say what the total reaction of a town is not, is a far easier task than to define precisely what it is. If we must find a single term to describe its character, perhaps we cannot do better than apply the one word, "unrest." This word seems to sum up with fair accuracy, so far as the children are concerned, the general attitude assumed towards the world. But this unrest does not possess that deep and overwhelmingly diffusive organ-note which sets throbbing a man's whole being and is essentially a product of religious experience; its note is shrill and irritating. There is a feeling that something is wrong somewhere; but just what it is, and where it is, and how to cure it, are questions which lack an answer. The raiment of existence does not fit comfortably; here a pin pricks, there a fragment of cloth rubs and tickles unpleasantly. Let the child shrug his shoulders never so diligently, there is no way of permanently ridding himself of the trouble. Twist and twirl how he will, the worrying evil is equally rapid in its movement; if it is ousted from one spot, it presently appears in another. Patience brings no relief; impatience, which naturally follows, is no less ineffective. There is here none of that suffering which often adds a dignity to the sufferer; everything is trivial and petty, and it is precisely this trivial pettiness which makes its presence so harass-

ing. The world assumes an aspect of insignificance; all its contents are branded with this mark, and nothing affords any solid or lasting content. Pettiness and unrest, perhaps unrest at the pettiness, are the most distinctive elements in the child's total reaction. The conclusions of an earlier portion of this volume, founded on an elaborate examination of the effects of a town environment, may well be summed up in the two words, "pettiness" and "unrest."

Awe, reverence, the feeling of mystery, in short all the more characteristic emotions of religion, find in this spirit of unrest and pettiness their most bitter foe. Religion affirms that the world is the visible revelation of the work of unseen forces, silent, unmeasurable, ineffable; the town appears as the whimsical product of human energy, noisy, disordered, frivolous. Religion tells us that each hour is fraught with tragic decisions and shot with eternal significance; the town fills the whole day with trivial actions whose effect is transient and whose meaning, if there be any, is absurd. Religion demands an arena for the struggle of immortal souls; the town supplies a cock-pit for the inane bickerings of animated puppets.

It is not, therefore, surprising if, as is often asserted, we are in an age of spiritual decay—an age when men are afflicted with a mental myopia and regard only what lies at their feet, an age when the more permanent factors of existence are lost in the jaunty glamour of everyday routine. It is, however, a matter well calculated to excite wonder, and perhaps regret, that people, while querulously lamenting the fact, have ignored its cause or beat about for

adventitious and irrelevant reasons, such as the ungodliness of the schools or the innate depravity of the poor. We have bricked up the window of the soul, and then are amazed that men cannot see out; we introduce into this darkened chamber flickering night-lights of pious exhortation and spluttering dips of ancient catch-words, offering them as a substitute for the thousand stars and all the choir of heaven.

The town encourages a one-sided development which lacks the element of the more strenuous and more mysterious moods. The stream of life flows shallow and is without strong currents or profound depths. Ethical associations, as well as the religious bodies, perceive and lament the fact. Each must find its own solution by its own way; but in either case it must be by the road of supplying a wider experience. Religion at least has its own remedy ready to hand. It can dissipate the unrest by revealing the permanence and the great calm of the forces that lie behind; it can ennoble the petty by infusing into it the spirit of the eternal. Lessons such as these are, so to speak, part of the stock in trade of religion; the difficulty lies in giving to them, amid the surroundings of town, the impressiveness of reality. At present they lack the vigour of actual experiencc; and actual experience from some quarter or other they must have.

Now, there is no such thing as teaching a child an emotion, as we teach him to read history or to work sums in compound interest; it must come as the result of first-hand experience. The most we can hope to do is to create conditions favourable to its appearance. It has already been shown, at

a length sufficient if not to convince, at any rate to weary the reader, that the village creates and fosters certain groups of feelings which are not associated with an urban environment. The first duty of religion is therefore to bring the child of the town into the country and leave him there for Nature to do her work. Probably one of the greatest missionary agencies in London at the present time, judged from the strictly religious point of view, is the Children's Country Holiday Fund. This altogether unsectarian society, innocent of any desire to proselytise, in scattering year by year over rural districts some forty thousand boys and girls, is essentially a spiritual force, potent over many lives. No one, who is familiar with these stray visitors and who knows enough to see in them something more than noisy intruders into scenes of tranquillity, can have any doubt concerning the effect produced. The world, for them, has expanded strangely under the inrush of new experiences and new emotions. There is a break in the stream of pettiness and unrest; and for a while the tide sets in an opposite direction. This brief stay stands out conspicuous as one of the landmarks of existence, a little islet of light and peace, long visible by way of contrast against the sombre background of an urban environment.

Every minister is diligently impressing on parents the religious duty of sending children regularly to church or to Sunday school; it is curious they never say that it is equally a religious duty to send children at intervals into the country. They are eager to gather the children to hear their doctrines and their formularies, which must be dry

and unintelligible, till rendered instinct with meaning by contact with actual experience. In the town the human teachers are always a rather unreliable element; but Nature, from long practice, may be trusted, and is cunning to devise impressive lessons. "The younger a child is," says Jean Paul—

"the less let him hear the Unspeakable named, who only by word becomes to him the speakable; but let him behold His symbols. The sublime is the temple step of religion, as the stars are of immeasurable space. When what is mighty appears in nature—a storm, thunder, the starry firmament, death—then utter the word God before the child. A great misfortune, a great blessing, a great crime, a great deed, are building sites for a child's church."

Here, then, is a neglected field for religious activity, fruitful in its promise of a rich harvest to those who care to till it. We want to rewrite the Baptismal Service; and the priest should impress on the godparents of a child their duty not merely to "provide that he may learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue," but also to see that he is taken to places in the country where he can have actual experience of "all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health." Long before the schools break up in the summer, holiday sermons should be preached. District visitors should be busy disseminating the same story; while the whole organisation of the parish should for the time be focussed on the encouragement of this single object. We must rid ourselves of the old stereotyped methods of the past and launch forth boldly on a pioneering voyage. Religion is not to be taught in a town as it is taught

in the village; religion must move on with the times, or the times will move on without religion.

Holidays, therefore, for the children must be encouraged as one of the duties of religion; but the matter must not be allowed to rest there. As is generally the case, where a lesson remains untaught by the proper teacher, another steps in and supplies a caricature as a substitute. Every year it becomes more common for the inhabitants of a town, so far as their means allow, to send or take their children during the summer months, not indeed to the country, but at any rate to places remote from their homes. It is a sign full of good hope; but for the present there is only the hope and not the fulfilment. We may welcome the fact of the holiday, but its character can hardly afford us the same measure of satisfaction.

For vast pleasure cities have grown up on the Southern and Eastern Coasts — cities which repeat the old refrain of the town, repeat it indeed with a few variations and grace notes, but leave the main theme unaltered. These seaside resorts are towns, but towns robbed of the element of work and decked out in carnival attire. Everyone is bent on enjoyment, and, carrying with him his old associations, demands to be entertained. Vast crowds throng the sands, which are littered with scraps of paper, broken bottles, banana skins, sprawling babies, and other superfluous and disorderly rubbish. Room to move there is none, every square yard is covered with a dense overgrowth of human beings. Noise is everywhere, rolling in with sharp stabs of discord. Nigger minstrels dance and shout and bandy coarse jokes

with the audience; singers, in all colours and costumes, parade the dredgings of the Music Hall; heavy females mounted on slender donkeys lurch by, shrieking inanely. It is London on a Bank Holiday spread over a fortnight or a month. There is the same loosening of all restraint; the same urgent craving for amusement and excitement, the same simulation of forced happiness. For the child nothing, perhaps, can pollute the mystery of distant horizons or banish the magic of the sea; but the shabby riot of Margate or Southend goes far to dispel the illusion.

It is not to be supposed that people extract any very sweet enjoyment from such scenes. But there is spread abroad a sort of general impression that, if you want to be amused on a holiday, these are the sort of things that ought to amuse you; and, as the result of diligent pretence of being happy, a measure of real happiness finally supervenes. Thus the fire is fed with the fuel of its own indulgence.

But there are many who fail in the task and return from the holiday disgusted with the experience, resolved to remain in town sooner than live through that dreary period again. They stay at home because the sole alternative is a move to one or other of the pleasure cities. To journey into the country and stay there, though apparently simple, is in fact, a venture attended by considerable difficulties. A village must be chosen, and they know not which to select; lodgings must be discovered, and they know not how to obtain them. As a matter of fact only a few rural districts endeavour to obtain visitors of this kind, not indeed because the in-

habitants lack the desire to increase their income, but because they are not aware of any demand.

It should now be apparent what the second duty of the religious teacher should be. He must not only preach the religious duty of holidays, nor again merely exhort people to eschew the shabby disorder of the pleasure cities: he must also make it possible for them to discover a substitute.

Town and country alike are divided up into ecclesiastical areas, in each of which are planted out one or more of the clergy. In the village the priest knows, or ought to know, all the inhabitants; he can ascertain without difficulty those willing to receive children and those able to lodge a whole family. In the town the priest cannot, of course, in face of the vast numbers with which he deals, boast the same intimate acquaintance with his parishioners, but at any rate he is familiar with many who desire to take, or who ought to be taught to desire to take, their children for a holiday. At present the town parish and the village parish lie separate, and, apart from an occasional change of incumbent, have no real connection. Every town parish should be affiliated by episcopal decree with a certain number of rural parishes, and one of the recognised duties of the priest should be the task of promoting and developing this system of holidays.

Two considerations must be borne in mind. First, there is here no question of charity. The vast bulk of the working-classes do not want charity; they want opportunities. Many already take their children for a holiday, and would prefer the cheapness and the quiet of the village to the noise and expense of a pleasure city. Others, while

unable to leave town themselves, would gladly arrange for their children to do so, if they could be assured that the children would be well cared for, and themselves kept free from the taint and the disabilities attached to the recipient of charity.

Secondly, this is essentially a religious duty; it is not a question of healing a few sick bodies; it is a question of supplying nutriment to thousands of starved souls. It is idle to play with religious doctrines, unless there is some personal experience behind. It is fooling, or worse than fooling, for clergy to preach charming children's sermons on the beauties of God's creations, when the children have never been outside, save perhaps for a day, the walls of the city; the whole affair is the sorriest of farces. Is there any experience more charged with pathos for the hearer, or more eloquent of the hopeless failure of religion, than to wander down a slum and hear coming from some building the sound of children's voices singing:

"All things bright and beautiful,
All creatures great and small,
All things wise and wonderful,
The Lord God made them all."

What things bright and beautiful, what things wise and wonderful rise up in the minds of the children of the town as being stamped with the signature of Almighty power? Turn over the children's hymnal, and the same lesson will be driven home by the search. The appeal of all the best hymns lies in the appeal to objects of nature—to the red sun, the flowers, the birds and the wide arch of heaven; a mere melody, empty of living significance, strikes on the children's ears. We

write no hymns for the town—perhaps this is not possible; we continue faithful to the antiquated methods of the past and then wring our hands in despair over the decay of religion. Readers may complain that inordinate space has been devoted to this subject of country holidays, but the subject is of inordinate importance and has been entirely dropt out of the panoply of the religious teacher. We shall not have spiritual life until we first have spiritual experience; and part at least of that experience must be gathered first-hand outside the walls of the city.

It is possible that some will be surprised that no mention has been made of the day's excursion into the country. There is undoubtedly hardly a Sunday school in London but has its annual expedition either to the seaside or to some semi-rural spot. In a strange fashion this queer practice, spreading almost like a disease, has become a regular institution. Whatever other purpose it serves, this outing is deplorable for the false notion it gives to the children of the natural surroundings of the country. It is branded everywhere with the sign-mark of the town, and serves as an occasion to throw off the little self-control the children possess, while it teaches them once again that disorder is a necessary accompaniment of enjoyment. A thousand boys and girls assemble and march to the station, attended possibly by a brass band and most certainly by a gang of hawkers busily selling sweets, flags and squirts. They sing lustily a few trite melodies as they pass through the streets, sing more lustily as they stand on the platform, sing most lustily, when they are packed into the train, and continue the exercise throughout the journey.

They are discharged into one of those spots which, neither rural nor urban, are attached to the outskirts of a town. It is crowded by other similar parties of thousands, and is equipt with swings, ice-cream stalls, in short, with the general stock-in-trade of a Bank Holiday. After spending the considerable sums they have wheedled out of fond and complaisant parents, they wander over a common or among the trees of a small wood. The whole place is redolent of the ravages caused by the swarms of visitors who have marched over it, like armies of locusts, every day throughout the summer. Tea occurs as a mere variation in the theme of confused sounds and excitement. The children are huddled together on narrow forms set within an oppressively hot tent. A long table is littered with a disarray of miscellaneous crockery, chipped and cracked. After a vain attempt to produce a semblance of order, a weary curate improvises an inaudible grace, and the meal commences to the accompaniment of the clatter of plates, the rattle of mugs thumped on the table, and the shrill and clamorous demands for food. Finally, the day closes as it begins, in a pandemonium of noise tempered perhaps by a feeling of utter fatigue.

Is it possible to imagine a ceremony more alien to the atmosphere of religion than this noisy riot? We injure the influence of the Sunday School by associating it with precisely those features we should endeavour most to avoid. We degrade the country in the estimation of the children by revealing it to them in the characteristic setting of a town; and first impressions are not easily effaced. The religious bodies would be well advised if they con-

tented themselves with providing funds, but left the arrangements of the excursions to the teachers in the day schools, who are able to control large numbers of children and manage such expeditions with admirable success.

There is, however, a place for the day in the country, regarded as part of the economy of the Sunday School. But it must be looked on in the light of an essentially religious ceremony, treated as a sort of pilgrimage to a holy spot, and organised with as much care and attention to detail as are given to the services of the Church. Such an arrangement will in no way mar the enjoyment of the children. On the contrary, the mere fact of an entire break with the jaded accompaniments of the town will in itself greatly increase the possibilities of happiness. It is part of that lamentable heritage, come down to us from Puritan times, to believe that nothing can be entirely religious unless it is entirely disagreeable. We must rid ourselves of the delusion, still common even in this twentieth century of progress, that religion is synonymous with the tedious, and spiritual life a mere intensification of the dull and sombre round of existence.

Even for those who still decline to recognise the importance of the country holiday, the discussion may not have been altogether without value. For, though dealing with a question which, as a rule, has not unfortunately been considered from the standpoint of religion, it nevertheless contains implicitly the principles of all religious training. Viewed as a religious force, the total reaction of the town exhibits two glaring defects; it is nega-

tively wrong because it lacks all factors calculated to arouse wonder or inspire reverence; it is positively wrong because it decks out the solemn drama of existence in the thin raiment of farce or the glittering tinsel of the pantomime. Religion must make good these faults by adding the elements of value and permanence. Over the restless ripple of the trivial and the sorry show of things it must cast the glow of mystery, of solemn calm, of tranquil strength. Its life must everywhere be thrown into telling contrast with the surroundings of the town, in order to redress the balance and restore the troubled equilibrium. We have already applied this principle to the problem of the country holiday, we must now apply it to the ceremonies which we regard as more distinctively religious.

So far as the children are concerned, the most universal of the religious activities is to be sought in the Sunday School. With the exception of those inhabiting the most gloomy slums, the majority of children, provided they possess suitable attire, attend school at least once a Sunday, until they reach the age of fourteen. It might, therefore, have been expected that the success of these organisations would have been signal and permanent. But there is good reason to believe that this is seldom the case. No religious institution stands in greater need of drastic reform. From floor to roof of the Sunday School, through every crevice and cranny, penetrates the demoralising and disquieting atmosphere of the town. The discipline is weak, and riotous disturbance a not uncommon occurrence. The teachers are irregular in attendance and have undergone no training to fit them for their work. The whole

institution is left to the control of the youngest curate, fresh from college, who has this duty laid upon him because it is supposed that anyone is capable of managing children. The noise, the overcrowded desks, the mean and often dirty character of the building, in short, the general air of dilapidated neglect, present to the child a perfect likeness of his everyday life. Once again we have religion flaunting itself in the trappings of the town and then wringing frail hands in impotent despair at the penurious fruits of its labours. There are, of course, exceptions, but they are rare, and may for practical purposes be disregarded.

It is not difficult to lay a finger on the causes of failure. There is, first, the good-natured contempt usually meted out towards all work carried on among children. Next, in most neighbourhoods suitable teachers cannot be obtained; and in their absence it is foolish to ape the methods of the day school by adopting the class-room system. The children know what good teaching means; they can appreciate discipline, and are cunning to take advantage of any weakness displayed. They get their fun out of the lessons, and regard the whole establishment with amused contempt, mitigated in part by the flavour and the excitement of the annual excursion and other adventitious attractions. Unless the school of religion can reach at least as high a standard as the school of secular instruction, in the interests of religion it were better to give up the conventional methods and strike out on novel lines. It is possible that under existing conditions the children may pick up a few phrases of doctrine, with which we are not here concerned, but the price

paid in terms of the degradation of religion is a price men should be chary in giving.

As a matter of fact other methods have been adopted, and adopted with admirable success. There is, for example, the so-called catechism of St Sulpice, which has never failed, wherever it has properly been tried. It is usually associated with advanced dogma and the propagation of Catholic views, but the conjunction is accidental and there is no necessary connection between the two. The virtue lies not in the substance of the lessons, but in the manner in which they are given. The individual classes disappear, and the children, above a certain age, are instructed together in a building, which is usually the church. Three factors contribute to the beneficial results secured. First, it is clearly recognised that work among children is the most important and at the same time the most difficult of the duties which devolve on religion. Next, effect is given to the truism that there can be no good teaching without good teachers. In consequence ungrudging pains are devoted to the preparation of the lessons, and the actual instruction is in the hands of one or two persons. Finally, due weight is given to the importance of atmosphere. It is clearly understood that, unless the right note is struck, the mere verbal accompaniment is without value. Every element, likely to awaken a sense of impressive solemnity and to spread abroad a spirit of calm and serious order, is made an integral part of the service; and every factor calculated to reproduce the features of the town environment is scrupulously excluded. There is therefore no cause for surprise if, as is a fact, the effect of such an

institution is signal and lasting. Its success is due to the recognition of the principle of contrast and addition, already shown to be the keynote of religious training.

So much weight has been given to the question of atmosphere, so much importance to the task of modifying the total reaction of the town, that readers might well demand a somewhat clearer definition of those elements which the town lacks but which religion must add. They can perhaps best be summed up in the one word, reverence. Reverence implies the recognition of worth, of permanence, in the affairs of the Universe. The relationship assumes the existence of a twofold system of value—a value in the person towards whom reverence is shown, and a value in the person who exhibits reverence. The recognition of this twofold system of values constitutes the essential part of the feeling. Exclusive consciousness of value in oneself ends in egoism and self-conceit; exclusive consciousness of value in another leads to subservience, cringing fear and self-abasement. In all attitudes of true reverence there is presupposed a likeness in kind of the two related objects of value; difference of degree there may and must be, but not complete distinction in quality. We have already seen how the environment of a town fails to exhibit such values as we are here contemplating. Religion, then, must begin and end in the teaching of reverence.

In one of the great passages of literature Goethe explains the principles of the threefold reverence, which underlies and is the foundation of the whole training given by the three wise men in his famous school. Wilhelm Meister is taken over the establish

ment, and, puzzled at much that he sees, finally inquires its meaning,—

"'Dignified, yet singular gestures of salutation I have noticed, the import of which I would gladly learn; with you, doubtless, the exterior has a reference to the interior, and inversely; let me know what this reference is.'

"'Well-formed, healthy children,' replied the three, 'bring much into the world along with them; Nature has given to each whatever he requires for time and duration; to unfold this is our duty; often it unfolds itself better of its own accord. One thing there is, however, which no child brings into the world with him, and yet it is on this one thing that all depends for making man in every point a man. If you can discover it yourself, speak it out.' Wilhelm thought a little while, then shook his head.

"The three, after a suitable pause, exclaimed: 'Reverence!' Wilhelm seemed to hesitate. 'Reverence!' cried they a second time. 'All want it, perhaps you yourself. Three kinds of reverence you have seen; and we inculcate a threefold reverence, which, when commingled and formed into one whole, attains its highest force and effect. The first is reverence for what is above us. That posture, the arms crossed over the breast, the look turned joyfully towards heaven, that is what we have enjoined on young children, requiring from them thereby a testimony that there is a God above, who images and reveals Himself in parents, teachers, superiors. Then comes the second: Reverence for what is under us. Those hands folded over the back, and, as it were, tied together, that down-turned smiling look, announce that we are to regard the earth with attention and cheerfulness; from the bounty of the earth we are nourished; the earth affords unutterable joys, but disproportionate sorrows she also brings him. Should one of our children do himself external hurt, blameably or blamelessly, should others hurt him accidentally or purposely, should dead involuntary matter do him hurt, then let him well consider it, for such danger will attend him all his days. But from this posture

we delay not to free our pupil the instant we become convinced that the instruction connected with it has produced sufficient influence on him. Then, on the contrary, we bid him gather courage, and turning to his comrades, range himself along with them. Now, at last, he stands forth, frank and bold; not selfishly isolated, only in combination with his equals does he front the world. . . .

"'The religion which depends on reverence for what is above us, we denominate the Ethnic; it is the religion of the nations, and the first happy deliverance from degrading fear; all heathen religions, as we call them, are of this sort. The second religion, which founds itself on reverence for what is around us, we denominate the Philosophical; for the philosopher stations himself on the middle and must draw down to him all that is higher, and up to him all that is lower, and only in this medium condition does he merit the title of Wise. . . . But now we have to speak of the third religion, grounded on reverence for what is beneath us; this we name the Christian, as in the Christian religion such a temper is most distinctly manifested; it is a last step to which mankind were fitted and destined to attain.' . . .

"'To which of these religions do you specially adhere?' inquired Wilhelm.

"'To all the three,' replied they; 'for in their union they produce what may properly be called the true religion. Out of these three reverences springs the highest reverence, reverence for oneself, and those again unfold themselves from this; so that man attains the highest elevation of which he is capable, that of being justified in reckoning himself the best that God and Nature have produced; nay, of being able to continue on this lofty eminence, without being again by self-conceit and presumption drawn down from it into the vulgar level."

The passage in Carlyle's translation has been quoted at length for two reasons; first, because with singular clearness it indicates the significance of

reverence and its intimate connection with religion; secondly, because of the importance given to use of symbolism in education by one who cannot well be accused of High Church tendencies or of sympathy with Catholicism.

In his proposals for an elaborate system of symbolic education, Goethe has anticipated the lessons of modern psychology. From the standpoint of the training of children, perhaps the most enlightening discovery is to be sought in the close connection which has been established between the emotions and their visible forms of expression; it is technically known as Lange's theory of the emotions. Check the natural gestures which accompany an emotion, and the emotion will be weakened and possibly disappear; give them free play, and the emotion will be correspondingly strong and impressive.

It is no less true that we can evoke an emotion by rehearsing the particular movements which are its habitual accompaniments. No one, who has watched a child simulate the signs of sorrow in a game and then suddenly lapse in an outburst of real grief, can be blind to the large amount of truth this theory contains. We may, of course, exaggerate the extent of its application, but we cannot deny that emotions may be developed by encouraging the appropriate gestures.

Now, of all the essentially religious emotions, reverence expresses itself most easily in characteristic movements or postures. It offers, therefore, to the priest or teacher peculiar facilities for inculcation, which he were foolish to neglect. He is, however, too often ignorant of psychology and, as a

consequence, courts inevitable failure. He may impress on the child the duty of reverence and dilate on the wickedness of its opposite; but his lessons will be futile in results, because, without actual experience, they remain empty of any vivifying significance. Mere words, as such, cannot excite a feeling, because there is no connection between the two things. You might as soon expect to make a cat kitten by violent sneezing as conjure an emotion out of the emptiness of windy verbiage.

Psychology points out a more excellent way, in bidding the teacher make the children act as though they were reverent. Enforce on certain occasions, as in prayer, a hushed silence, closed eyes, folded hands, a kneeling posture and the like. Let the children act as though the world were full of deep and mysterious meaning and themselves in the presence of the King of Kings, and from these mere physical dispositions and outward signs will be born the emotion of reverence; and when it has come to its strength, then, and not till then, it may receive a name.

It might seem superfluous to add that the teacher must himself be reverent and exhibit reverence in his attitude towards religion. Experience, however, unfortunately shows that this warning is necessary. Who is there that is not familiar with the jauntily flippant manner, the trashy humour, and not seldom the blatant vulgarity, which distinguish the speeches of certain preachers, especially mission preachers, when they are addressing children? "I like Mr So-and-So," children may be often heard to say as they come from some religious service; "he's

such a funny man, he always makes me laugh." Is it possible to imagine any conduct that jars and clashes more intolerably with the note of reverence than does this common and popular style of sermon? The children will take the subject at no higher value than that which the speaker is seen to put upon it himself. If they observe that he conducts himself as a clown and a mountebank, they will regard the theme of man's redemption and the struggle of eternal souls as presenting attractions similar, though somewhat inferior, to the charms of the pantomime of Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp.

If it is necessary to approach the worshipped with due solemnity, it is no less necessary to bear in mind the other aspect of reverence—the value of the worshipper. While some attention has undoubtedly been given to the first factor, the second has generally been dropped out of mind. Here again the child will be apt to put the same value on himself that he sees others put upon him. We have noticed how the town treats him and his conduct with entire indifference; it is a tragedy that religion has too often followed in the footsteps of the town. If there is cause to protest against the conventional methods of inculcating reverence for the powers lying behind the world, there is still greater cause to protest against the neglect to teach the child reverence for himself. When they speak to a child, people usually imagine it necessary to assume an air of inane facetiousness as though they were addressing a creature who stood a little lower in intelligence than a pet lap-dog. Our acts are in keeping with our words. I need only quote the Sunday School tea, with its utter indifference to

even the decencies of an ordinary meal, to make my meaning clear. Men usually urge that anything is good enough for a child, because he is too young to appreciate anything better. They would be wiser if they said nothing is too good for a child which prevents him becoming accustomed to what is inferior. Just because he does not understand what is right, is it fair that he should be taught to rest contented with that which is bad? As a matter of fact the whole argument is vicious, because the premises are false. Children are admirable critics and peculiarly sensitive to excellence in all its forms. Whatever, therefore, we do for children, let it be the best of which we are capable, or let it not be done at all. If we treat them as persons of value, they will rise correspondingly in their own estimation. The world makes little of them; religion, therefore, must make much, if it would have them learn reverence for themselves as beings on whom all the eternities converge.

There may, perhaps, be readers who, in criticism of these principles of religious training, will complain that, though here and there the terminology of religion has been used, non-religion would have little difficulty in adopting the same conclusions. This is undoubtedly the case; non-religion has no desire to limit the experience of the child to the narrow outlook of the town, but is as eager as religion to bring him into contact with all phases of natural phenomena. Awe in the presence of the ungovernable forces of the Universe, wonder at the majestic procession of cause and effect, a consciousness of the unsolved enigmas of life, are

all common elements in the total reaction of religion and non-religion; while to encourage a reverence for all that makes for righteousness is a duty which both alike would recognise.

But we have now reached a stage in our journey where religion and non-religion must part company. Religion has always asserted that the relation between man and the Universe, in all its huge totality, is something more than the relation between a perceiving subject and an object perceived, and has postulated a more intimate connection. It has placed behind the veil of Nature a mysterious power, which is not only the efficient cause of the laws discovered by science, but also the introducer of new phenomena, not in general amenable to the methods of ordinary observation. I shall say nothing of these phenomena, so far as they are supposed to stand for changes in the physical features of the world, since at the present time these supply exercises of faith rather than facts of experience. But over and above miracles of this character, religion claims that, under certain conditions, there is between man and this mysterious power an interchange of influence and an intercourse which consummate in the union or communion of the two.

From this communion man derives a new strength, and is conscious that aid in the struggle of life has come to him from outside. This element of the total reaction is not recognised by non-religion, while in the eyes of religion it is the most important factor of the whole. Man becomes aware that what he regards as the higher part of his nature is, as William James says, "conterminous and con-

tinuous with a 'more' of the same quality, which is operative in the universe outside of him, and which he can keep in working touch with, and in a fashion get on board of and save himself when all his lower being has gone to pieces in the wreck." Under what conditions does this inflow of new strength occur?

To some extent religion has always been ready with an answer. In the Vedanta system of thought, the most philosophic of all religions and the most religious of all philosophies, the whole discussion centres round this element of the total reaction. The writers are eager to define exactly the conditions of its appearance, and at the same time anxious to explain how it comes to pass that the complete union of man with God is a state attained only by a few. They enumerate a number of circumstances, often attributing to them a kind of personal existence, which stand in the way. To these hostile forces they give the name of hindrances. Each lust or desire, even every individual sensation or perception, to which man attends, is a hindrance, which must be fought and overcome before permanent success can be achieved. So long as man is under the domination of the senses he continues the victim of a great illusion; and the final consummation of religion remains in his case unfulfilled. In short, he must escape from the stress of the particular before he can enter into any intimate relations with the universal.

Other religions, though with less clearly defined aim, have walked along the same path. The vain pomp and glory of the world, the lusts of the flesh, the pride of life, and sin in general, have always been

regarded as hindrances. But these hindrances have rarely been considered as entirely synonymous with wrongdoing; they have usually been interpreted in a far wider sense, as covering a host of, in themselves, harmless and even laudable actions. "The trivial round, the common task," has never been supposed to "furnish all we ought to ask." It is precisely this trivial round which the great preachers have denounced most bitterly, as the fatal hindrance to the development of true religion. To escape this trivial round, the ascetic fled the haunts of man and sought the solitude of the hills and woods, the monk withdrew to the monastery and the nun to the seclusion of the convent. One and all felt that the ordinary life and the spiritual life were formed out of conflicting elements, which refused to blend in harmony and which, when brought together, were caught up in the throes of an irreconcilable discord. The thorough-going mystic would have us cut ourselves adrift from these entangling hindrances. But unfortunately the thorough-going mystic is the product of an uneconomic age, and would receive but scant courtesy from the modern advocates of efficiency. But if complete severance is impossible, it does not follow that a temporary way of escape cannot be found. At any rate, priests and ministers are at one in asserting that, if man desire to enjoy the final consummation of religion, he must for a time step out of the restless stream of sensuous existence. There must come a pause, a breathing space, in whose silence alone can be heard the still small voice of God.

We can arrive at a similar conclusion by pursuing a totally different line of research. It is folly

in these days to disregard the investigations made by the psychologists in the regions of the spiritual life. No teacher can afford to neglect such a book as William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*. He shows there, with an amazing wealth of illustration, the important part played by subconsciousness in the most characteristic religious phenomena. In conclusion he hazards the hypothesis, "that whatever it may be on its *further* side, the 'more' with which in religious experience we feel ourselves connected is on its *hither* side the subconscious continuation of our conscious life." While attempting to estimate the influence of the environment on the child, we have already seen that the subconsciousness is the workshop in which are elaborated the more significant elements of the total reaction. We are now to consider the subconscious not only as a workshop, but also as a channel which transmits spiritual experiences.

We must therefore consider how and when the subconsciousness is most active. "The special principle to be emphasised," writes Mr Jastrow, "is that the field of the subconscious is the darkened area that comes with the high lights; these furnish the conditions for its most characteristic manifestations, while the diffusive illumination of the ordinary widely alert attentive states offers the least favourable conditions for its unobserved entrance upon the field." In other words, subconsciousness is without influence on our moods, while the normal consciousness is busy with the clamorous throng of common experiences and engaged in receiving the insistent impressions of the workaday world. It is in moments of reverie and dreamy meditation, when

the mind no longer attends to the inrush of sensations, that we find ourselves in possession of those diffuse and impressive feelings for which we cannot account. At such times the subconscious effects are filtering through the interstices of the ordinary consciousness, bearing with them their peculiar and characteristic mark of foreign origin. But before this can happen, the hindrances which centre in the pitiless storm of external perceptions must be removed; and this in general is only possible by a retreat to some shelter, where the din of the storm is no longer heard. For with any irruption from the world of sensuous experience, "the dawn of consciousness looms along the horizon; we are again awake," and the influence and the visions are gone. Thus the religious teachers and the modern psychologists join hands and are at one in the assertion that if we desire the appearance of certain phenomena, the stream of ordinary consciousness must be dammed back in order to make room for what the one classes among subconscious manifestations and the other among spiritual experiences.

To make the break in the flow of ordinary consciousness, and to make it in the right way, this is the duty of the religious teacher, which he must never allow to slip from his memory. Now, within the walls of a city this is a task attended by no common difficulties. There is no flying from the hindrances as was done in days gone by; there are no hills and woods, within easy reach, for people to fly to. While on the other hand, the impetuous throng of ever-changing impressions, the glamour and the noise of the streets, the abiding spirit of unrest—in short, all the accessories of a town environ-

ment, in its setting of material needs and material phenomena, constitute a formidable mass of hindrances not easy to overleap. The significance of atmosphere and the urgent necessity of dissociating religion from all the usual concomitants of the child's surroundings should now be apparent. The suggestions, already thrown out, go some way in the right direction, but do not go far enough; there remains a demand for a service or ceremony more impressive than a model Sunday School or even than a pilgrimage to the countryside.

From the Sunday School the road leads on naturally to the Church. It is here, if anywhere, in these days of delirious noise and heated efficiency that we must look for some symbolic service which shall intensify the feeling of reverence for the unseen forces of the Universe and deepen the sense of individual values. Now, no one is likely to accuse the religious teacher of failing to hold the Church in proper estimation or of neglecting to summon people to its ceremonies. It is not the use but the misuse that calls for criticism. Men have been taught to consider that mere presence in a place of worship is in itself an act of virtue; indeed the weariness, often bred of such attendance, has been regarded as evident proof of a meritorious deed, or is perhaps prized by the Protestant priest as the only form of penance which he can legitimately impose.

Nothing is more disastrous to the interests of religion than this practice of dragging children to church in order to develop early a habit of church-going. The church service, adapted as it is for adults, is unsuited for children. They not only regard it as incomprehensible, which would not

matter, but also find it tedious, a result fatal to the growth of those sentiments it ought to inspire. We must avoid encouraging that kind of familiarity with holy things that breeds contempt. "Indeed I would rather," says the author of *Levana*—

"you should lead children on the great days of the seasons or of human life merely into the empty temple and show them the holy place of their elders. If you add to that twilight, the organ, singing, you will at least leave behind on the young heart more religious consecration by that single church-going than you would on an old one by a whole year of church attending."

There is a wisdom in these words which those who are eager to impress upon children the duty of regular attendance at some place of worship would do well to remember. To veto attendance is better than to encourage it; encouragement better than injunction. For at all cost we must preserve intact the sanctity of the church, in order that the child may regard it as the centre of spiritual life and the spot where are transacted the most solemn mysteries of religion, the union of God with man and man with God.

Whatever other purpose the church may serve, in a town it is pre-eminently the place where that break in the flow of ordinary consciousness, already mentioned, is made, and made in the only way that promises success. The church walls are like a barrier that shuts out the fretful cares, life's eager hopes and fears, and all the tawdry pageant of the day's routine. The door slams to and the world is left outside; and the child remains alone—alone with God. But the scenes amid which he finds himself must be in keeping with his new mood, and

must be in striking contrast with his home and school, or his thoughts will swing back into the old familiar grooves. Most religions have felt this need, and in their temples have tempered the blinding glare of day with the stained glass of the windows; while the altar, the symbol of the highest spiritual experience, is left conspicuous and filled with light. Music, graceful and characteristic architecture, the vestments of the priest, all aim at producing one harmonious effect. In a real sense the church should be a sort of miniature or artificial world of nature, where the child may glimpse visions of mysteries, which the hindrances in the town outside hide from his ordinary view.

To many it has seemed a mean and revolting thought, which smacks of the material, that man must find his way to God by following so artificial a road as this. It may well be that they are men of stouter build and more robust will, capable, without external aid, of surmounting the hindrances, and retiring into the inner sanctuary of consciousness. Yet there is reason to doubt whether this is often the case. Even the sternest Protestant is aware, though he will not admit it, of the truth here urged; even for him the simple and humdrum service of church or chapel will not suffice. He must have his revivals, his thrilling preachers and his occasions for emotional outburst. He is in reality seeking the same end, though he travel by another course.

For there are two ways by which we can escape for a time from the stress of the individual struggle and from the thrill of the individual interest. On the one hand we may deliberately retire from the

struggle and the interest, put up the shutters and draw down the blinds, in order that they be no more perceived, and thus, by removing the stimulus to self-expression, rescue the poor victims of ourselves from the onslaught of the environment. Or, on the other hand, we may open all the doors and step outside, abandoning ourselves without restraint to the struggles and interests, where they are thickest and fiercest, and so lose the individual in the tide of this larger life. The Catholics have, in general, chosen the first course, the Protestants the second. The former endeavour to flee the hindrances by walling out the world of man and carrying the worshipper into a miniature world of nature. The latter strive to rid him of the hindrances by calling to his aid the overwhelming power of the human element. In the tense mood of a vast congregation—for be it remembered that there is no such thing as a revival service for a few—where all are under the influence of passionate rhetoric and sensuous hymns and songs, man's individuality is swallowed up in the diffuse emotions of the crowd. The primary effect, whether we follow the way of nature or the way of man, the way of the Catholics or the way of the Protestants, is essentially the same. In both comes the necessary break; the thin thread of the personal is snapped asunder; there is a pause in the insistent stress of material things, and in that pause rolls in a new experience, the consciousness of man's intercourse with the forces of spiritual life, sense of conversion, feeling of communion—call it what you will.

Both are devices, essentially artificial in character, to free man from the bondage of the present. To decide between their respective merits might

well appear an invidious task. But a natural division of territory suggests itself, as a sort of amicable arrangement. If the primary effect of the two methods is the same, the secondary effects are distinguished by marked differences. The way through nature ends in a feeling of rest and untroubled calm; the way through man leads to a state of fevered excitement. It would therefore appear that the first is more suited to the circumstances of a town, and the second to the surroundings of a village; in this compromise each contributes to the environment precisely that factor the other lacks. As a sort of confirmation of this truth, at any rate from one point of view, it may be well to mention that the only religious bodies which exercise the slightest influence on the very poor of the slums are the Roman Catholics and the High Church Anglicans. A revival service in the ghetto is little better than a repetition of the orgy of Saturday night, Bank Holiday, or St Patrick's Day.

But whatever principle may decide the partition of territory, there is no doubt about the need for the ground to be occupied. If man would enter into communion with the deeper forces of the Universe, he must temporarily escape from the besetting hindrances of the "specious" present and its weary routine. A break must be made in the rippling stream of ordinary consciousness and, though after-effects may be different, in this break lie the heart and essence of the entire possibilities of the experience.

All these considerations are to some extent tacitly recognised by the teachers of religion. But they do not receive sufficient attention, are not

generally written about, or, when written about, are dressed up in the attire of some particular denominational terminology. Their true significance, therefore, escapes notice. We must, however, take a broader view and open our minds to the lessons of psychology. Religion assumes in man the existence of a certain wider consciousness "through which saving experiences come." If we desire man to enter into possession of this new world, we must ascertain the conditions which permit of entry, and, even at the risk of appearing fanciful, strive to reproduce those conditions. The question is of fundamental importance in the training of the child. With each year that passes, his feelings tend to harden and to grow to the conventional mould. Hindrances, which at first hardly exist, grow into impassable mountains; and the thin filmy thread of the ordinary consciousness swells to a rope, which only a cataclysm can hope to break. Possibilities of new emotions disappear, and the total reaction to the Universe, instead of consummating in com munion with God, becomes only a frame for the sordid picture of each day's passing show and trivial pageant.

(3.) *Crystallisation in Doctrine.*

The second division of the subject—the crystallisation of the feeling of man's total reaction to the Universe into definite assertions—is free from many of the obscurities which beset the preceding discussion, and does not require any very lengthy amplification. In brief, we have a bundle of massive feelings touching the existence of some non-natural power, feelings of awe, dependency and communion. Throughout the ages men have striven to express

in words the underlying significance of these diffuse emotions, in order to make them intelligible to others. The fruit of these attempts is visible in the creeds of the many religions. If the varying nature of man be considered, and allowance made for the inherent difficulty of converting feelings into clear-cut definitions, it is not surprising that these creeds present striking points of difference. What merits astonishment is not the degree of divergence but the extent of agreement.

There is at the present time a widespread repugnance to doctrine in general, and a man who boasts of having swept his mind clear of such cobwebs is apt to be regarded as a shrewd and clear-sighted individual. But so far as these doctrines represent a serious attempt to give articulate expression to the most profound emotions, this attitude of contempt is the attitude of unreason. A person whose mind is vacant of all dogma is a person whose mind is altogether vacant. Science has her dogmas as much as religion. The first law of motion is a dogma of science; the definition of the Trinity is a dogma of religion; both are, or purport to be, interpretations of, or conclusions from, some sort of experience, but in neither case can the ordinary man follow the chain of reasoning, and both alike, if accepted, must be taken on trust. False dogmas are bad and true dogmas are good, but dogmas of a kind are indispensable parts of the furniture of the mind.

A similar objection in a more accentuated form is raised against the intrusion of doctrine into the religious training of children. It is useless and cruel, men urge, to cram into the minds of the

young doctrines they cannot understand. This statement is unimpeachable, but, like most unimpeachable statements, entirely irrelevant to the question at issue. There is no reason to suppose that all doctrines are necessarily unintelligible, and the course of wisdom would lie not in the neglect of doctrine, but in the selection of such doctrines as are within the comprehension of the child.

As a matter of fact, in all education doctrinal instruction occupies the most important place. It is a maxim of every good teacher never to allow any perception or feeling to roam at large in a child's mind without striving to catch it and tie a label round its neck for purposes of future identification. Only by the development of this system of labels can the initial chaos of the intellect be transformed into an orderly conception of the Universe. Now this labelling of facts of experience implies definition and explanation not given in that experience—in other words, involves doctrinal teaching. It is, unfortunately, a common delusion to imagine that education's sole work lies in supplying the child with a bundle of labels before there is anything to which they can be attached. The religious teacher is much addicted to this fault of multiplying these blank and unmeaning forms and, to this extent, merits the blame awarded him. But so far as they stand for facts of experience, however vague, doctrines can not only be defended, but are altogether indispensable.

It must always be remembered that there is no essential difference between the methods of religious and the methods of so-called secular instruction. Experience in some degree must precede the name,

though the later possession of a name leads to the widening of experience. The experience presents itself usually in a general and unanalysed shape; the teacher, by splitting it into its component parts and giving names to each fragment, can materially assist the natural process of sorting out and identification. But if the methods of secular and religious instruction run on parallel lines, the conditions of religious experience, at least in a town, are more difficult to secure. It is, however, futile to try and hasten the process by supplying the child with a vocabulary, whose unintelligible words are empty sounds and nothing more. Religion not founded on personal feelings leads to the dry and unfertile tracts of formularism, creating weariness in place of wonder, and disgust in place of inspiration. Take care of experience, and the dogmas will take care of themselves.

But if the teacher must wait on experience, he must not wait too long or wait in idleness; he can at least prepare the way. It is a clear gain to know that there are certain possibilities of experience. When the astronomer had glimpsed with the help of the great Lick telescope the fifth satellite of the planet Jupiter, other astronomers with far inferior instruments were also able to see that tiny body. They knew that there was something within the range of vision; they therefore searched in expectation and were successful in confirming the discovery. A large part of the religious progress of the individual turns on the confirmation of previous discoveries. Each man is not his own pioneer in the sphere of spiritual life. Others of keener sight have gone before—prophets, seers, people of genius

—and we come in as the inheritors of the treasures they have laid bare. There is nothing peculiar to religion in this process; all scientific teaching depends on, so to speak, loading the dice. The child is warned for what particular effect he must watch. His mind is on the alert, and in consequence unlikely to miss the phenomenon. Attention directed to the right spot, expectation of the appearance of a certain event, all increase enormously the powers of observation. To know what is going to happen is a long step in the way of noting its occurrence.

In a similar manner the teacher of religion can prepare the mind of the child and so, in a sense, anticipate experience and foreshadow its shape. The Universe comes to us in a wild medley of confused and undistinguished events. Education is little more than a kind of sorting and classifying process. Each person's world, as already shown, is largely a world of his own creation, which he has dredged up out of this primitive chaos. Choice and fancy are the factors which determine the direction in which he casts the dredging-net of attention; and choice and fancy are not fixed elements in his character. To aid attention and to direct it into the desired channels are the work of the teacher, whether he is concerned with religion or matters of ordinary knowledge.

It is hardly necessary to point out the dangers which beset this use of doctrinal teaching, as a means of anticipating experience. We tend to observe in a phenomenon just what we have been taught to expect, whether the particular feature is present or absent. Now the fact of having seen a

thing once and seen it wrong, adds greatly to the difficulty of seeing it in its right shape hereafter. The prejudice of early ideas and impressions is strong and not easy to eradicate; and when eradicated, much is torn up beside the prejudice. We disbelieve not merely the event in question, but also the doctrine which it was intended to illustrate, though not to prove. While this is a danger into which all forms of education are liable to fall, it has proved the special bane of religion.

For religion, of necessity, moves in an atmosphere of metaphor and mythology. In man's effort to crystallise his most profound feelings in words intelligible to his fellows, he has been compelled to appeal for his illustrations to the experience of his day; and inevitably that experience does not remain constant, but varies with the progress of knowledge. Time was, for example, when man, conscious of a mysterious presence brooding over the affairs of the Universe, naturally saw its handiwork in all phenomena which the science of his times was unable to explain. Thus, eager to express his sense of the divine presence, he represented the Deity in the shape of a sort of diligent housewife, busy with her duster in all the obscure corners of the world. But as men gradually came to regard the world as an expression of order, down even to these obscure corners, the duster theory failed to produce that satisfaction it once afforded. Religion, persistently confusing a fact of experience with its interpretation, found itself in a quandary. On the one side, people rejected both experience and interpretation, and hastily poured out the baby with the bath water; while on the other side,

imagining themselves the protagonists of religion, they took to their heart both water and babe, cherishing them both as equally sacrosanct. Thus religion comes to us down the ages, dragging with it a troupe of ungainly and discredited spectres. Now, it is just the survival of these ungainly spectres which does so much to bring religion into disrepute. Men are taught that they must take or drop both; and while they might have welcomed the real meaning of religion, they cannot stomach the discredited spectres.

The religious teacher, whatever affection he may himself have for these discredited spectres, would do well to keep them in the background and not to link them inseparably with the interpretation of experience. There are certain things which men find hard to believe nowadays. The whole atmosphere of life is hostile to their reception. The present writer remembers hearing a teacher give a bible lesson to infants under seven on the subject of Jonah and his whale. They listened to the narrative intently, but it was clear that their attitude was one of scepticism. At the conclusion, more than one voice exclaimed: "Teacher, is it true?" "Did it really happen?" The moral is pretty obvious and does not need elaboration.

Doctrinal instruction is useful as a means of anticipating experience and making it possible. But there must be a measure of discretion employed; and the lessons should not contain assertions of fact which later experience will certainly call in question and perhaps altogether discredit. The teacher must remember that many of his beliefs remain sacred to him, not because they are

inseparably connected with the truths of religion, but because they are inseparably associated with the days of his childhood. They are like the toys he played with long ago, still fondly cherished by himself, but regarded by his children as tattered fragments of wool and scraps of broken wood, more fit to be cast on the waste-heap than to be awarded an honoured place in the nursery cupboard.

But there is one further department in which belief, founded merely on so-called dogmatic lessons, may be of service. A belief in advance of facts may not only enable us to widen experience, it may even create for itself that experience. Nowadays men are coming to see that there are departments of life where faith is justified by producing its own fulfilment. Belief in our ability to perform some task enables us to carry it through with success; belief in the trustworthiness of a friend may render him trustworthy; civilisation depends every moment of its existence on our belief in its possibility. "Who knows," says William James, "whether the faithfulness of individuals here below to their own poor over-beliefs may not actually help God in turn to be more effectively faithful to His own greater tasks?"

Thus doctrinal teaching plays a threefold part in the education of the child. It helps to give form and meaning to his own spiritual experience; it assists in anticipating and foreshadowing the shape of that experience; and, in certain cases, it may perhaps create a portion of that experience. As to what its contents should be, there is here no concern, since, fortunately for the reader, this is a volume of method and not a compendium of in-

fantile theology. But two articles of faith, found more or less clearly defined in most religions, have so close a bearing on much that has been urged in this book, and are of such fundamental moment, that they merit a brief examination.

"We find God twice," says someone: "once within and once without us; within us an eye; without us a light." First, then, religion has as a rule dressed out the power lying at the back of phenomena in some form of personality. As a philosophic abstraction the Deity has no interest for the ordinary person. He wants a God who can feel with him in his struggles, and who repeats in His nature certain of man's characteristics. The whole strength of Christianity lies in the humanity of its Godhead. Let the child's God then be something that can be understood, something that can be used.

The second lesson is a necessary consequence of the first. If God has an element in common with man, then man has an element in common with God. It is curious that this second lesson is too often passed over in silence. It is not always necessary to enlarge on the innate depravity of the human race. Doubtless, man is depraved, but you do not make him any the better by continually harping on the fact of his own rascality, though you may make him a saint by insisting on his essential saintliness. Let the child then learn that, whether or no he be created in the image of the devil, he is certainly created in the image of God. If the religious teacher can drive home these two lessons, he may rest content with his work. The humanity of God, the divinity of man, and the union of the

two; on these three things, this Trinity of religion, hang all the law and the prophets.

(4.) *Realisation in Conduct.*

In all religious training, as has been said, three factors must find a place. There is, first, the form which religion gives to the generalised feeling inspired by the Universe; there is, next, the expression of this feeling in words; and there is, finally, the realisation of this feeling in conduct. The first two have already been considered; the third yet remains for discussion. Our task is to exhibit the relation between religion and morality, so far as the education of the child is concerned.

It has often been said that religion has nothing to do with morality, and in a certain sense this is perfectly true. Religion does not initiate any code of rules to which the conduct of the individual ought to conform. Nor, as a matter of fact, does any ethical system. It is common criticism that the content of the ethical code, whatever the system, remains constant, and that differences of opinion arise only when the writers begin to talk about sanctions and underlying principles. But if religion can boast no peculiar code of its own devising, it at any rate invests that code, which has been derived from other sources, with a characteristic colouring and a distinctive attire. It supplies a permanent instead of a temporary setting, and insists on a universal in place of a particular application. Religion essentially asserts value, creates value, preserves value; and this value belongs to the unlimited and eternal order of things. Here again we touch on that bed-rock difference between the

religious and the non-religious view of the world, a difference which makes impracticable in the schools any definite and unsectarian course of moral instruction. In order to realise how widely severed in this respect the methods of teaching must be, it will be necessary to inquire a little more closely into the contents and the origin of the ordinary code of morality. This code claims descent from two very dissimilar ancestors.

There is, in the first place, what may be called conventional morality. At any one time each class of society has its own rules, which must guide the behaviour of its members, if they desire to escape the condemnation of their neighbours. Certain acts are awarded praise, others receive blame; while there is a sort of intermediate territory, comprising the convention, where conduct is accepted as a matter of course and regarded with indifference. Deviation from this neutral ground, if in an upward direction, is acclaimed with cheers of approval as a sign of superabundant merit; while, if the tendency is downwards, this fall is taken as a mark of signal depravity.

The contents of this code are the queerest jumble of the trivial and the significant. From conformity to the fundamental principles, which alone hold society together, to the dictates of Mrs Grundy, all has its appointed place in this fantastic museum. The code varies from age to age and from class to class, but throughout one age and among the members of one class it is approximately uniform in character. Its importance lies in the fact that it is observed. Men may not have any special ambition to rise above the level reached by their neighbours, but they manifest an extreme disinclination to drop below.

Its second title to importance lies in the fact that it covers nearly the whole of the conduct of life. Cleanliness, temperance, chastity, diligence, personal appearance, all, in degrees appropriate to the class in question, are contained in the convention. Just as the standard of life indicates the level of prosperity reached by any group of persons, so the standard of the convention measures the level of morality attained. As the environment changes, the convention likewise changes; and, in general, any change in the latter must be preceded by a change in the former.

But while the convention includes the greater part of morality it does not include the whole. There is generally present another factor valuable in itself, but still more valuable in the influence it exerts on the character of the convention. This second factor in morality may be called the element of heroism, or idealism. Conventional morality belongs essentially to the life of the present moment. To follow its dictates is, in general, the line of least resistance; it is a sort of toll paid by a man in order that he may enjoy the ordinary amenities of existence. It assumes the world will remain uniform, and such provision for the future as it demands is made merely in the interests of this stereotyped form. But man is not always content to carry on this humdrum and uneventful life. There have been periods in his career —they probably come to all—when some visioned future has loomed more largely in his imagination than this clearly defined present. He has been keenly alive to the fact of a to-morrow, feeling that there were treasures of priceless worth which the toil of to-day might win in that to-morrow. These

two lives, the life that lay at his feet and the life that was placed beyond the horizon, went on side by side; but to-day was tolerable only because it bore in its womb the glories of to-morrow.

The possession of an ideal cannot leave a man's nature unchanged. It makes the difference between a character whose keynote is an apathetic content and a character whose keynote is an energising hope. Just as a man may lead this sort of dual existence, so likewise he drags about with him two selves, adapted respectively to the two careers. There are hidden resources of strength in his nature which are rarely discovered, latent possibilities of heroism, though they seldom come to fruition. One has only to study the history of any war, or follow the course of some great Trades Union dispute or social uprising, to find innumerable instances of commonplace individuals undergoing the most prolonged sufferings and sacrificing their lives, without thought of reward, in the cause of some ideal, felt rather than expressed. This second factor in morality yields the dynamic force required to transform society. It is the formative element in the life of a nation. "Where there is no vision the people perisheth."

The teacher need not trouble himself much about the conventional code of morality, as custom will in general assure its observance. Nor, so far as the more emotional side of morality is concerned, will his duty with regard to the second prove a task of any very considerable difficulty. Whatever may be said of the grown man, the child is essentially an idealist, to whom the note of the heroic seldom appeals in vain for a response. He lives in the

future, and is ever busy with the plans of what he will do when he is a man. He himself is the hero of the stories that he reads—the bold explorer that presses onward to the North Pole, or the doughty champion that slays the dragon and rescues the lady in distress. Mere material considerations leave him unmoved. It is the big things in existence, the overlapping events, the life of strenuous effort, the disregard of personal pain and danger and the sublime death, which fire his imagination and set the hot blood coursing through his veins.

To rouse these elemental emotions is easy; it needs but to tell suitable stories with a proper spirit, or to allow the older child to read them for himself. The bible, rightly used, is a treasure-chamber of such tales. Who can hear for the first time of the meeting of Jacob and Esau, or of Joseph revealing himself to his brethren, without a thrill of enthusiasm? While the travels of the children of Israel to the Promised Land, with its adventures coloured by the thought of the final goal to which all led, is a glorious parable of the life of man. But the bible has suffered shameful treatment. First, the teacher has been eager to draw a moral, and the moral, dragged laboriously to view, has killed the natural interest. A tale which has to be interpreted is a tale without value; it is nothing if it is not its own moral. There is no more dastardly deed of vandalism than the habit of dissecting and eviscerating some splendid story in order to lay bare a trite and tedious platitude. Further, among Protestants and the elementary schools at any rate, the bible has been used too much; it has become a thing common and unclean. Instead of

being to the child a book of lofty inspiration, it has become a wearisome volume replete with anecdotes worn threadbare by frequent telling, or an unpleasant manual of petty prohibition. The little girl was quite right when she said she was tired of the story of the Adamses. Let the bible then be used with moderation and it will regain the priceless value it once possessed.

There is no need, however, to depend on the bible alone for tales which sound the note of the heroic. Stories of the old Greek heroes, as told by Kingsley, histories of the Crusades like Scott's *Talisman*, the best books of adventure, and a whole host of fairy-tales, supply a superabundant store. They all lay stress on the distant object, to secure which no effort is deemed too large, and no act too trivial to be without influence. So-called moral lessons are an abomination; if the application is apt the lesson is tedious, and if false, as frequently happens, it is something worse. Let the child see himself as the knight going forth to battle, with the red cross blazoned on his shield, and the teacher may rest satisfied with his work.

Now, if morality required nothing more than the stirring up of certain emotions, the matter might very well be left here, and there would be no reason to appeal to religion. But in dealing with matters of feeling, one golden rule must always be borne in mind. Never excite enthusiasm and then let it burn itself out without issuing in some definite action. If you can do no more, as someone has said, you may at least speak genially to your maiden aunt. It is necessary, therefore, to find an outlet for the child's moral enthusiasm when aroused. Give him

a piece of work to do as its expression, let him visit a sick friend, help a weary mother; the environment of a town makes it easy to find a task. See, then, that he acquires a habit of fixing his floating enthusiasms in the more permanent form of definite actions.

But such actions, regarded as an end in themselves, cannot be looked on as affording a field wide enough for the display of the heroic and the ideal enthusiasm. They are concerned merely with the present—they allay some passing pain, they afford some transient gratification—they are not steps towards some remote and cherished goal. To speak genially to a maiden aunt cannot well be dubbed heroic; nor can such conduct be said to contemplate a progress towards the realisation of some visioned future, save indeed one of an entirely sordid and material character. Can the town in itself provide a field of action adequate for the display of the heroic life? The question has already been answered in the negative. We have seen that the distinctive characteristic of a town is to be sought in that spirit of petty unrest which broods over all its scenes and penetrates all its operations. If we ask for an ideal, the town gives us only the glamour of the trivial and fleeting present. In place of the inspiration which comes from recognising the fruits and the value of our own actions, the town hides all consequences in the mists of that paralysing loneliness which arises when the microcosmos of the individual finds itself pitted against the macrocosmos of overwhelming numbers.

And yet, looked at from some remote distance, the town seems full of the raw material which goes

to the making of heroism. The life of the respectable unskilled labourer appears instinct with the spirit of the heroic. The long hours of strenuous effort, the daily privations, the work carried on in times of health and times of sickness, the recurrent periods of acute distress, all alike borne with a dumb and unresenting patience—is not this an existence well calculated to excite admiration if it ever chanced to attract attention? The explorer, fêted on his return home by half a continent, does not in the course of his travels undergo a tithe of these hardships, and yet is regarded as a hero, while the day labourer is noticed and praised by none. The life of the labourer lacks the element of the heroic, because it lacks the element of the ideal. It is not inspired by the conscious possession of a final purpose; it is not ennobled by the struggle to reach some distant goal. And for want of this we have the appearance of heroism without the reality, and so lose all the possibilities latent in this exhibition of endless toil.

The town, then, supplies a field for strenuous effort, but fails to give value or significance to the struggle. We await the advent of some spirit which shall pass over the dry bones of this aimless drudgery and inspire the poor automata with a consciousness of the eternal meaning of their toil. We must make life heroic by adding to the lot of man the element of the ideal. Not till we have succeeded in our endeavour shall we have at our disposal that pregnant force alone capable of raising from the wild travailing of the present the first-fruits of a civilisation. It is in the performance of this task that religion, with its wider appeal, may hope for victory, where non-religion can look for,

at best, only the triumph of a failure skilfully concealed.

Non-religion calls in the aid of science, which diligently takes to pieces and analyses the complex system of the world, in the hope of discovering some inner significance at the heart. But it returns from the quest empty-handed, finding in the elements of the world nothing but the measureless march of meaningless atoms ending, where it began, with meaningless atoms in their measureless march. It gropes vainly in the future, and with dim eyes glimpses visions, fair at the outset, but dissolving in the perpetual flux of things. Man asks for the possibilities of hope, for the opportunity of projecting life's work on to the plane of the eternal; and in reply he learns that all flows and nothing stays; that existence is but a transient episode entangled in a kink of eternity; that ere long, as heat dissipates, it will vanish, and there will be left a dead planet circling round a dead sun, with the two drifting forward through the immensities of untraversed space; and, as his final creed, he is taught to believe that amid the clash of warring worlds and the chaos of dying stars only death is sure and only partings eternal. There is not in this belief—and what has non-religion to add to it but rhetoric?—the energising power we seek. The child sees himself a mere bubble floating—sometimes buoyantly in the sunshine, but more often beneath clouds of gloom—on the surface of a vast stream, and, for his inspiration, he is told that one day the bubble will burst and the stream dry up.

But religion is not subject to the limitations of science; it has its own system of permanent values,

its own immortal verities. It can in the eyes of the child transform the shabby trappings of the ghetto, not indeed by the introduction of new heroic tasks to be performed, but by demonstrating that all life is heroic, because all life is ideal. The present and its needs have indeed such passing importance as convention puts upon them, but they reach out beyond themselves and are only so many steps, in the right or wrong direction, on the road that stretches to eternity. And that road leads somewhere and ends not in a dead nothingness. At the background of all the trivialities of the day's routine, the child may believe that its due performance leads to the establishment of God's Kingdom here on earth, and may rightly regard himself as among those who work for the realisation of that Kingdom.

Religion has its ideal; it has also its demand for the heroic, because it has also its struggle. The ideal is not realised without an effort, and failure is always possible. On the plane of religion every meanest action is of eternal moment, every meanest person of priceless worth. These two facts, the unique value of the work and the unique value of the worker, emerge as the most significant contributions of religion to the cause of morality. Here, then, we have scope for the heroic enthusiasm, and at the same time that pregnant force which can alone transform the ghetto.

Religion, then, can appeal freely to the emotions because it can always supply a field suitable for their exercise. But religion has at times dropped this, its most potent source of inspiration, and asserted that, after all, the struggle of the world is

only a struggle in appearance; that whatever man may do, his conduct will be overruled for good, and has claimed that the final purposes of the Deity will not wait on the conduct of so puny a person as himself. This is but to repeat, in a new and a worse form, the insistent lesson of the town, the lesson of a child's insignificance. There is nothing heroic in a fight where triumph is assured, nothing ideal in a certain future. The zest of life and the appeal for energy lie in the fact of doubt and in the chance of failure. All experience tells us that we are not playing the game of life with loaded dice, and that, shake the box how we will, "double sixes" will certainly leap out. Let the child then feel that he goes forth to meet in battle real and powerful opponents, that victory trembles in the balance, and the issue depends, in part at any rate, on himself.

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CHAPTER V

THE CHILD AND THE WORLD

(1) The Theory of Relations; (2) The Relation to the Family; (3) The Relation to the Country; (4) The Relation to the World.

"IN this huge city, amid a population of human beings, so vast that each is solitary, so various that each is independent, which, like the ocean, yields before and closes over every attempt made to influence and impress it—in this mere aggregate of individuals, which admits of neither change nor reform, because it has no internal order, or disposition of parts or mutual dependence, because it has nothing to change from and nothing to change to, where no one knows his next-door neighbour, where in every place are found a thousand worlds, each pursuing its own functions unimpeded by the rest—how can we, how can a handful of men do any service worthy of the Lord who has called us, and the objects to which our lives are dedicated?

"'Cry aloud, spare not,' says the prophet; well may he say it! No room for sparing; what cry is loud enough, except the last trumpet of God to pierce the omnipresent din of turmoil and of effort which rises, like an exhalation from the very earth, along the public thoroughfares, and to reach the dense multitudes on each side of them in the maze of lanes and alleys known only to those who live in them?"

It is thus that one of the great thinkers of the last generation records the impression left on his mind by the contemplation of those multitudinous forces which together compose the complex life of a mighty city. We who live in these days of huge towns and world-wide empires shall not fail to realise the essential truth of Newman's picture. Whether

expressed in words, or felt dimly throughout the fibres of our being, this sensation of helplessness in the face of bewildering numbers is ever with us. It is the plea for passive endurance, since all restlessness is vain; it is the reason for indifference, since all anxiety is futile; it is the argument for doing nothing, since nothing is of any avail.

The problem of the town, or the problem of the world, is a problem of numbers. Civilisation has enormously widened the extent of our relations to our fellow-creatures, but it has at the same time proportionately increased the difficulty of rendering these relations living and effective. Everywhere we are faced by vastness; and the mere contemplation of these empty magnitudes paralyses our energy. We are the rulers of nearly a quarter of the inhabitants of the globe and cannot escape the responsibilities involved in this dominion. Our decisions are fraught, whether for good or for ill, with the interests of millions; and our voice reverberates to the distant confines of the earth. But while this is a fact which cannot be gainsaid, we are unable to realise its truth or to understand how individually we can make our influence perceptible. We are at once the heirs of the world, but the inheritors of nothing—the owners of the universe, but the effective possessors of no single object.

But if we are conscious of our growing helplessness, we are at the same time conscious of our growing sympathies. We are more humane than were our fathers; our brutality is the brutality of ignorance and impotence, and not the brutality of indifference and deliberate choice. We are no longer tolerant of abuses when we hear of their

existence; we are eager to be up and doing; and our only difficulty is to know what to do. Civilisation thus carries concealed within its womb the possibility of its own cure.

To develop this sense of widening sympathy, and to discover for it fitting means of expression, must be the goal of all education worthy of the name. Education finds the child helpless with the helplessness of ignorance: it must leave him strong with the strength of knowledge; it finds him an isolated unit, confronted, rank on rank, by the uncounted numbers of humanity: it must leave him an active member of an inter-related brotherhood. Much has already been said on the subject, but the various questions involved have been treated in piecemeal fashion; it now remains to give coherence to the heterogeneous chapters, by representing education as an attempt to solve the problem of the child and the world.

(1.) *The Theory of Relations.*

In one of the old books of fairy-tales there is a story of a princess who lost her heart—unfortunately not to a lover, but to a witch who stole and hid it within a mountain of ice. The consequences of the theft were as curious as they were unpleasant. The princess stood in the closest relations to a large number of persons—to her parents who cherished her with tender love, to her attendants who fed and clothed and amused her, and to the many princes who competed with one another for her hand. But to all alike she was indifferent; their pleasures and pains, their hopes and fears, were nothing to her; in her eyes they were of no more importance than the chair on which she sat, or the comb with which she

smoothed out her flowing locks of gold. They supplied her needs and, to that extent, came into her life, but they came no further. In the fulness of time the usual prince of fairyland made his appearance. After a fierce struggle he vanquished the witch, rescued the heart of the princess from the ice mountain, and restored the lost treasure to its owner.

No sooner had the princess regained possession of her heart than a dramatic change began. The living creatures of the world, regarded as mere objects of knowledge, remained indeed unchanged, but were suffused with a new colouring and became pregnant with a new significance. Hitherto they had seemed to her a part of the world's furniture, distinguished by their foolish and irritating habits, and conspicuous for the element of uncertainty they introduced into the affairs of existence; they now acquired values of their own, such as could never belong to an intricate piece of mechanism. Novel emotions jostled for the possession of her will and swayed her conduct. Actions which had before appeared pleasant filled her with horror. Feeling and sentiment had entered her universe; relations, before passive, became active and living in the warmth of newly-roused sympathies; while, as for the prince, it is but natural to suppose that the princess restored to him the heart he had already gallantly won.

Like all the best fairy-tales, this story is a parable of life. So far as the larger portion of humanity is concerned, we resemble the princess before the arrival of the prince. Whether we will or no, we are brought into many and varied relations with our fellow-creatures. The intricate mechanism of civilisation has widened enormously the field of these

relations. But the relations are mainly of the passive kind; they are called into being without our consent or co-operation, and we are constrained by the bonds they create. The men and women who stand related to us in this fashion are only so many complex machines that minister to our needs, but fail to arouse any trace of feeling or emotion. We are, for example, brought into relations with the native who gathers tea in Ceylon; every breakfast-time a tie is established between us. But the condition of the native, his weal or woe, exerts no appreciable effect on our conduct. He is merely one of the forces of the world, like gravitation or electricity, to be used but not to be loved. The relation is purely of the passive kind; and we resemble the princess before the arrival of the prince. The relation may, of course, at any time become active; this will be the case if we chance to be a tea-merchant or a missionary. Standing in conspicuous contrast with Ceylon, there is generally some secluded nook in our world where the relations are active. In our family circle, for example, we are no longer cold and passionless; the living beings to whom we stand related are to us motives for action, and at the same time objects of love.

The distinction alluded to is fundamental and strikes down to the roots of life. Without exaggeration it may be said that all real progress has been made in the past, and will be made in the future by the conversion of passive into active relations; in other words, by adding the warm glow of human sympathy to the passionless and mechanical ties that bind us to our fellow-men. Little more than a hundred years ago we bought our sugar placidly

indifferent to the truth that the sugar-canes were cultivated by slave labour. Our relations to the slaves were of the passive kind. Then came a handful of enthusiasts who dinned into our ears the fact of this slavery, till we came to realise its significance, who championed the rights of a common humanity till we yielded to their insistent clamour. The relation became active and we gave the slaves their freedom. Less than a hundred years back we burned our coal, oblivious, or reckless, of the truth that we were at the same time consuming the lives of the women and children who toiled in the mines. Then a great reformer and a great poem rendered this passive relation active and inaugurated the era of factory legislation.

But we have not yet exhausted the meaning of the fairy-tale, and the most important moral remains to be drawn. The world of the princess was indeed transformed by the conversion of passive into active relations; but this change was due not to the general onslaught of the environment, but to the appearance of a single individual. As a matter of fact, the story was not in reality a fairy-tale; there was no witch, there was no mountain of ice, and there was no stolen heart. It was the tale of a child reared in a family indifferent to her existence and careless of her sorrows and her joys. Her affections lay dormant, and she looked out, indifferent, on a world of loveless objects. Then came the prince; he was merely a commonplace mortal, but he touched her heart and waked it into life. The love of him, this love of a single individual, transformed that cold world, peopling it with new and wonderful beings, her heart's children, and left it warm and living.

Now the moral of the tale is obvious; if we desire to change passive into active relations, we must not start with the wild complexity of human relations in their huge totality, but we must begin with some individual person and enter into active relations with him. The love of the few must precede the love of the many, and be at once the example and the earnest of a more widely diffused sentiment. To pervert a parable: it is only from the well-plenished board of a rich family love that Dives has any crumbs of affection to spare for the poor beggar Humanity, sitting cold and forlorn on his doorstep.

But this is an assertion which, in spite of its apparent truth, will be called in question by many. It is often urged that these small and intimate relations distort and prejudice our view, and so prevent us from considering with perfect impartiality the wide claims of humanity. A certain school of socialists has for this reason vigorously attacked the family, maintaining that the family bond is the most serious obstacle in the path of progress. "Domestic unity," they say, "is inconsistent with an absolute social unity vested in the State"; or again: "Family supremacy will be absolutely incompatible with an interdependent solidaric commonwealth." For if a man is compelled to choose between the happiness of his son and the happiness of a native of Ceylon, he will, under existing conditions, prefer the happiness of his son. Further, if the choice be between one son and two Ceylon tea-gatherers, the decision will be in no way different. This preferential love of the few thus leads to the sacrifice of the many in the interests of those few. We must therefore clear away these narrowing relations before we can hope to attain the

complete impartiality of the ideal State. Imperialists have urged the same argument to justify their absorption of small independent nations; while Tolstoi has used it as a plea for stamping out the baneful disease of patriotism.

Now, they are altogether in the right when they point out the danger that besets these more intimate relations, whether of family or of country; but they are altogether in the wrong when they imagine that destruction is the only safe cure. For the same reason they would advise a man with a weak digestion to abstain from eating, in order to escape the disquietude which sometimes follows on a meal, or advocate universal suicide because under certain conditions life may become intolerable. In either case the alternative is obvious: to recognise the danger and to take precautions against its appearance. But the real fallacy of the argument lies in its entire misconstruction of human nature. We must always remember, even in our theories, that man is human and shares with his fellows the frailties of humanity. He cannot help loving the few he knows more deeply than the many with whom he is unacquainted. If he fight against this natural weakness, he can only win success by eradicating his faculty of affection. In this uprooting process his immediate neighbours will lose, and humanity at large will be in no wise a gainer. To imagine that a love of humanity is acquired by cultivating a severe indifference to the individual is to advance strong claims to a cell in a lunatic asylum.

Further, to urge a child to love humanity is as though we exhorted him to enter into amorous relations with the Atlantic Ocean. To bid him

always calculate the influence of his actions on the totality of things is like requiring him to estimate the influence of the innumerable earthquakes created by every step he takes along the pavement. He is lost in bewilderment and can trace no effect on so visionary a body. "The individual," as Mazzini says, "is too insignificant and humanity is too vast." Undoubtedly the contemplation of any huge object, such as the world of living creatures, may excite a vague and indefinable emotion. But we have here neither guidance nor motive for work, and are left floating on that sea of idle sentimentalism, which leaves a man with a consciousness of virtue, but without that sense of effort which alone makes virtue virtuous.

We must begin, therefore, with an aim less ambitious than the desire to enfold humanity in our fond embrace by a single sweep of the arms. We must choose some small relation like the family and make the common life real and effective there. Then, using this as the type of other relations and as the source of energy, we may move outwards in a series of expanding circles, like the waves in a lake diverging from a central point of disturbance, until the far reeds, standing on the distant shores of humanity, tremble with the impulse which had its origin in the vitality of the home.

(2.) *The Relation to the Family.*

A child is not cast upon the universe an isolated atom of humanity; he enters, as a new member, an already closely-linked and interrelated world—the miniature world of home. From the first moment of his appearance, intimate ties connect him with a

small group of persons. His earliest lessons show him that on the goodwill of this little group depend his comfort and his happiness. The welfare of the whole is so bound up with the behaviour of the units that the consequences, attending conduct, stand vividly impressed upon his mind.

Here, then, is a spot where relations belong necessarily to the active type; here, therefore, ready to our hand, is a society which might well serve as a training-ground in which the significance of relations can be learned. "The family," says Mazzini, "is the heart's fatherland." The world is but an overgrown family; and the world's ideal—the ideal of an association regulated by mutual service and mutual goodwill—is the ideal found most nearly realised within the home.

Three characteristics distinguish the life of the home. First, love, and not the expectation of reward, is the motive which sways conduct. The attempts of the young child to please his mother are merely so many expressions of the feelings with which he regards her. There is here no thought of securing any further gratification than that derived from the signs of happiness she will show. Secondly, to the various services performed and received cling no taint of favour and patronage on the one hand, and no humiliating sense of dependence on the other. Here is the model community, where the weaker turns naturally towards the stronger, and the stronger shares his strength with the weaker, while both are the better for the interchange. Thirdly, while acting as the seed-bed of the emotions, the home supplies means of bringing these emotions to fruition instead of leaving them to die of inanition. A ready outlet

for the discharge of feelings down the channel of action is provided. There is always someone to whom the child can show sympathy, a definite person who may be given a pleasure or spared a pain.

These three characteristics of the family—service from sympathy, service without a sense of patronage or humiliation, and service as the expression of each emotion—together constitute the ideal which should inspire the relation of man to his fellow-creatures. To stimulate and foster the vitality of the home must therefore be among the principal objects of the social reformer. A large part of the proposals already advanced, as for example the feeding of children at school, have been made with the deliberate, though unexpressed, intention of securing this result. This assertion may perhaps surprise those persons who have doubtless viewed with disapproval the enlargement of the functions of the State advocated throughout this volume. To remove this possible misunderstanding, it will be necessary to plunge somewhat deeply into the true significance of the relation of the family.

The family relation is part of Nature's arrangements for subserving the continuance of the race. The affection of the parent for the child is one of the primitive instincts shared by man with the animal world. But like other instincts the parental instinct, at its inception, is frail and easily destroyed. It must be cherished by exercise or it will die at its birth. For instinct is at the outset little more than a vague feeling which prompts us to perform certain actions. If the action is duly performed, the instinct becomes stronger; if neglected, the

instinct fades away. Check the expression of an instinct, and the immature emotion, which is its essential part, never reaches maturity; give it free play and, feeding on the fuel of indulgence, a definite emotion or a well-developed habit, or both, are the result. During our growing years we have hundreds of instincts, which appear only to perish for want of exercise.

The parental instinct shares with other instincts the same frailty at the start, and is no less dependent on expression for its continued existence. The instinct of the mother prompts her to care for her child; but if she cultivate a habit of persistent neglect, the instinct soon ceases to trouble her, and the incipient affection never reaches fruition. On the other hand, let her perform for the child those hundred services his hourly needs demand, and the instinct ripens into a real and lasting love. In short, parental affection is the creation of parental care.

But side by side with the parental instinct there is another factor which plays no small part in the development of the family life. It is a truth of common observance that whatever we have gained by our own toil and our own pains acquires for us a peculiar value. Pleasures lightly won are lightly prized and lightly lost. Whatever comes to us without a struggle comes to us without that savour of effort which is the secret of our deepest happiness. The patient striving towards a goal, the efforts of the chase, the thrill of continual wrestling with difficulties—how much they contribute to the final joy of attainment! The prize we have won by months of study is more to us than its intrinsic value can justify. The mountaineer would never experience the glow of

triumph he feels on reaching the summit of some hitherto unclimbed peak if it were not for the pains and rigours attending the ascent. The religious enthusiast does not know the joys of tranquil faith if he has never wandered long years in the lonely wilderness of doubt and error. The unskilled labourer feels a far keener pride in his little home with its humble pieces of furniture, its highly-coloured oleographs and its cheap ornaments, each of which is the materialised embodiment of days of labour, than does the millionaire who stores his palace with antiques manufactured in Whitechapel, and pastes his walls with Ancient Masters purchased from a wholesale dealer. In the same manner the toils and pains associated with parenthood are themselves the sources of the happiness experienced. Take away all the duties and all the burdens, and you take from the life of the family the most precious treasures of its store.

Whether regarded as an instinct which has developed into habits and emotions, or looked on as in part due to the pride of successful attainment, the family sentiment of affection draws for its life-blood on effort and on expression. But while this fact is true and must never be forgotten, it is false to suppose that all effort and all expression, undertaken on account of the home, necessarily strengthen the bonds that unite the members of the household. We must not, as is too often the practice, apply the principle unconditionally and without respect to the circumstances of the special case. Certain fundamental facts of human nature are generally overlooked.

An instinct can only exert a permanent influence

over conduct by being converted into a habit, or by prompting to actions which are in themselves sources of happiness. So far as the parental instinct becomes a habit its expression is automatic, and its continuance assured, irrespective of the particular conditions. But the question whether the conduct prescribed by the instinct leads to consequences on the whole pleasant or unpleasant, is a matter of vital importance in the study of the family. For if the balance is on the side of pain, then the instinct and its characteristic modes of manifestation will gradually disappear, because all motives for their gratification have vanished; the suffering incurred affords a cogent reason for their cessation. In other words, if the struggle to maintain the family is too exacting, either the struggle will cease and the family as a unit disappear, or the struggle will go on, because it is the least of many evils, but the sentiment of family affection will be quenched and its place taken by a sense of weariness or a feeling of active irritation at the harassing ties involved. The worry caused by the presence of children exceeds the happiness afforded by their possession.

A similar conclusion is reached if we regard the sentiment of family affection as the creation of effort and endurance. Parents are human beings, and in consequence share the frailties which are the heritage of the race. Humanity is hedged in on all sides with limitations. Up to a certain point it is no doubt true that the pleasure of attainment is to some extent proportionate to the degree of effort expended. But when that critical point is reached the tide of pleasure changes, ebbs rapidly, and

may easily be transformed into a current of vigorous pain. The man who has reached the mountain-peak does indeed experience a thrill of happiness, whose intensity is in a certain degree commensurate with the labour of the climb. But the toil must not have been excessive, or the physical exhaustion which supervenes will weaken, and may destroy, the capacity for enjoyment. Parenthood and its fruits are subject to similar conditions. Within limits, happiness varies with the degree of effort exerted and the extent of self-sacrifice displayed, but when the crest has been passed the sun-streaked summit is soon lost to view, and the descent into the valley of gloom and desolation rapid and abrupt. The relation between parents and children resembles the relation between two bodies joined by a piece of elastic. For a time, as they are drawn apart, each increase in the distance of separation is met by a corresponding increase in the forces of attraction. But later, as the process of stretching continues, the various threads of the elastic begin to break, the power tending to draw the two together diminishes in strength, until finally the connection is severed. It is certain that among many of the households of the poor the point of limiting tension has been passed, while in others the break has come and the members of the family, though living beneath the same roof, are, in the region of sentiment, drifting apart and have become to one another causes of resentment and dislike rather than objects of affection.

Few people seem to realise how nearly the lives of the poor reach the limits of human endurance. They deprecate any attempt to lighten the burden, because they fear to weaken thereby the strength

of the ties of family. They never appear to imagine that the effect of this kindly help would tend in the opposite direction, and that, just because the forces of severance were diminished, the affection of the parents would increase and the home duties be performed with greater success and animation, because with a vigour less impaired by intolerable toil. It is almost incredible that anyone, who has had practical experience of the domestic routine of a small house, can resist the evidence of his eyes and maintain an attitude of stubborn hostility towards every proposal to lessen the measure of physical exertion. To exhibit the matter in its true proportion, let us compare the duties of a mother in a working-class home with the duties of a mother selected from the more prosperous regions of society.

The routine work, typical of innumerable families among the working classes of the towns, may be epitomised briefly in the following summary. The day begins before the night is well gone. The father leaves early to reach his work, and the mother frequently, though not always, rises betimes to warm him a cup of tea before he starts. She then wakes the children, gives them their breakfast, and gets them ready for school. Next the baby must be dressed, the cups and plates washed, the beds made, and the rooms generally tidied up and cleaned. Before this task is finished the midday dinner demands attention, and ere this is ready, the children themselves are home. Into the kitchen they drive, as children will do, with cheery noise and lusty shouts after their morning's confinement, interrupting and worrying the mother until the hour

of afternoon school is come. Another period of washing up supervenes, and the housework, left incompleted, must be performed. The mother is perhaps permitted now a brief interlude of rest before tea. After tea, the babel of confusion, inseparable from a number of boys and girls shut up in a small room and provided with scanty means of enjoyment, renders impossible the enjoyment of undisturbed peace. By and by the children must be put to bed and the supper cooked against the return of her husband. Then recurs a final washing up of crockery, varied with occasional interruptions from those upstairs who are engaged in animated quarrels instead of going to sleep; and the evening is far advanced before the weary mother is able to seek her couch. Add to this routine, carried on year in, year out, the weekly washing day, the weekly bathing night, the periodic scrubbing and cleaning of the whole house, and the continual mending and patching and darning; evaluate, in terms of mental wear and tear, the harassing struggle to make the small means at her disposal cover the rent, provide boots and clothing, and supply the ordinary necessities of existence; interpolate the inevitable accidents of life—days of sickness for herself and for her children, possible weeks out of work for her husband, when the contents of the home trickle slowly away to the pawnshop, the expenses of birth, and the expenses of death: sum up the various items in her labour bill, and the aggregate total, representing the demands on the mere physical resources of the mother, is incredibly large. If anyone cherish a doubt concerning the effect of this continuous strain, let him compare a

girl, as she is before marriage, with the same girl as she appears a few years later, when the yoke of motherhood is hung about her neck, and the last rag of scepticism will be torn from him. The brightness of the complexion is dimmed, the prettiness and dainty refinement gone, the riant joy of living crushed out by the burden of existence. This blight that falls on the promise of girlhood is one of those tragedies which use fails to rob of its ugliness or familiarity to free from its haunting desolation. The weary resignation of old age and the buoyant happiness of youth touch hands, and there is no intervening period separating the one from the other.

Compare this day-to-day drudgery with the work of the ordinary mother of the prosperous and servant-keeping class. There is no thought here of considering one of the neglected homes of the rich; but the case selected is normal in character, and the family life supposed to be healthy and strong. The mother is called by a servant, who brings the hot water, and perhaps helps her to dress. She comes down to a room where a fire is brightly burning, everything tidy and in order, and the breakfast ready. After breakfast, at which some of the children, who have been dressed by a servant, are present, she visits the nursery to see the little ones who have been entrusted to the care of the nurse. She may spend a short time with the children before the arrival of the governess, when they again pass out of her control. She retires to answer letters and arrange the business of the house, and perhaps, if her tastes lie in that direction, to write part of an article denouncing municipal enter-

prise, which, by lightening the work of the parents, will infallibly destroy the life of the home. In the afternoon she visits a few friends, amuses herself with the children in the drawing-room after tea, but if they prove noisy or troublesome, despatches them to the nursery. In the evening, untroubled by the cares of a family, she can follow the bent of her own desire. In all this I have no desire to criticise; it is right for those who can afford servants to transfer to them the physical burden of children. They are thus left free for doing other and more useful work. They have leisure to consider seriously the education of the child, to study his disposition and to acquaint themselves with improved methods of training. They are not so swallowed up in attending to the urgent needs of the present as to be unable to look forward into the future or control its course. But the real point of importance, on which stress must be laid, is to be found in the fact that in spite of this transfer of the burdens of motherhood to the shoulders of servants, there is no visible weakening in the strength and vitality of the family bond. On the contrary the ties are stronger and more lasting, just because the mother, by divesting herself of the drudgery, has leisure to consider and work for the higher interests of the whole.

The ties of family are stronger among the servant-keeping class than they are among the poorer class, and they are stronger because the stress of physical toil is weaker and the pains of parenthood less insistent. Even among the less prosperous members of the community gradations, leading to a similar conclusion, can be discovered.

In an essay entitled, "The Boy and the Family, published in *Studies of Boy Life in our Cities*, I have endeavoured to show the close connection between the material conditions and the vitality of the family. Family life among the artisans is shown to be on the average more vigorous than it is among the labourers, and family life among the labourers less starved and crippled than it is among the casual workers. Two causes contribute to this result; the opportunities for enjoyment are larger and the actual physical needs less difficult to satisfy. The factor of happiness, obtained by dividing the pleasure in the possession of children by the pains of the labour they involve, is enlarged, because the numerator is increased and the denominator diminished.

If, therefore, we desire to strengthen the family relation, we must endeavour to lessen the burdens of parenthood and so enlarge the possibilities of happiness. The contents of many of the previous chapters indicate the course that should be adopted. A minimum wage, improved housing conditions, State maintenance of widows, municipal schools, municipal dinners, municipal wash-houses, municipal playing-fields; the adoption of each or all of these proposals will add to and not detract from the vigour of the family. It is no doubt true, that if the State were to assume all the duties of the parent, the family relation, as such, would disappear. But there is at the present time a very large margin of safety, where the State may interfere with altogether beneficent result.

In a town the security of the family is menaced by the presence of two dangers, which together bid fair to crush it out of existence. The first enemy

is the cruel burden of the mere physical needs; this subject has now been sufficiently elaborated.

The second enemy which the family has to fight is the misdirected enthusiasm of its most ardent supporters. They rightly lay stress on the relation as an essential factor in the life of a nation, but they imagine that its integrity can best be preserved by being entirely neglected. Fearful of any change, and conning the past with a narrow and prejudiced mind, they assume an attitude of stubborn hostility towards all reform. If it be a question of providing work for the unemployed, meals for the children, pensions for the old; if it be a matter of municipal trams, municipal wash-houses, municipal dwellings, in every instance they raise the cry that the independence of the family is threatened, and exhort their friends to fight the measure to the death. Is it surprising that the word family has come to stink in the nostrils of those who are striving to improve the conditions of the poor? Is it any cause for wonder if they begin to attack the family and inquire what manner of monster this is which can only be preserved by bringing as offerings to its den hungry children and suffering mothers? There can be no doubt that men are beginning to regard the idea of family with hostility, because it is supposed to be a sort of ban that tabooes all efforts after social amelioration. It is time that these rash and ardent supporters of the family should realise the injury they are doing to the cause they have at heart. We are no longer in an age when we can contemplate pain with equanimity, believing that we see therein the hand of Nature busy to improve the race. It might be more humane to stay our

hands, but it would not be human; and in the long run humanity is a greater force than humaneness. The present is full of evil and we cannot be idle; if we cannot do right, at least we may do wrong, and to do wrong is better than to do nothing.

But there is, after all, no reason for timidity and no cause for fearing that we shall move in the wrong direction. The observance of one simple rule will in general keep us from going far astray. We must avoid the method of picking and choosing; what we offer to one we must offer to all. Free education is therefore beneficial; free meals for all are likewise good; but when we begin to select for this or that reason, then we usually do harm. Charity, apart from its value as an expression of sympathy, is generally injurious, because it gives a man, by way of benevolence and at the price of subservience, what should be his by right. What comes to him as part of his heritage as a citizen comes to him, like the air he breathes, as one of the common blessings in which all share. We may go far in easing the lot of the ordinary home without fear of trespassing on the prerogative of the family. The sanctity of the family is menaced at the present time by the austerity of the thoughtful rather than by the sentimentality of the thoughtless.

It has been necessary to devote much space to the subject of the family, because the family is the first of the relations which bring the child into contact with a life wider than his own. It is the most primitive of relations, but at the same time the most important, as supplying the model of all the remainder. The miniature world of home is a copy, in warmer colours, perhaps, but still a copy,

of the great world that lies outside. To find a substitute is hard, and we should therefore make the best use of it we can. The richer it is in happiness, the closer are the ties which bind its members. The family stands as a sort of inner citadel and place of retreat, where life is more real because more individual, more vigorous because more personal, more social because more human.

(3.) *The Relation to the Country.*

The family, then, is the natural training-ground in relations. It is the first example of an association composed of several members, where the prosperity of the whole is visibly associated with the acts of the individuals, and where, in turn, the individual finds most effective expression and truest happiness in such subordination of self-interest as is required in the larger life. But the relation of family is essentially restricted in range, and its influence may easily be confined within the four walls of the home. We must not, therefore, rest content until we have introduced the child to the wider relations, as for example the relation to his country, and shown him how there likewise he may play an effective part.

But the journey from the narrow circle of family to the wide expanse of country is long and arduous. Some bridge between the two, making the passage easier and the transition less abrupt, must be discovered. From the members of one family there is a natural path that leads to the neighbouring families. The interests of all are closely associated, and family affection ought to expand into love of native place. Local feeling and local pride mark,

therefore, a further stage in the development of the wider relations.

Now, in days gone by, when patriotism still flourished, a strange and passionate affection encircled every village. A man's place of birth was to him something sacred—its very ground was charged with a significance such as belonged to no other spot. This devotion to the home of his ancestors, the mysterious elemental love of the very soil, drew for its strength on the rich treasures of childish associations. Men loved each field because they had romped there as little children; and each wood was dear to them because they had gathered flowers beneath its trees in the days of long ago; while the village and the village green were ringed with a halo of romance, as the common assembly ground, where the annual fair was held, the old games played, and the old festivals celebrated. From such threads were woven that unreasoning affection for some small spot, which seemed to those who dwelt therein the fairest region under heaven, and the very centre of the universe. From the love of his native village the man passed easily to the love of his country, which guarded the interests and ensured the safety of all villages.

But the growth of cities and the march of civilisation have swept away these tiny elements of a social existence. Not only amid the maelstrom of a town is it hard for any consciousness of a vigorous life to spring up, but the best and most intelligent of the rural populations are swept into the cities, and the villages are left in a sort of back-eddy slowly rotating in the closed and narrow circle of parochial apathy. But in spite of these

significant changes we must follow the principles already laid down; we must begin with the small before we can hope to include the great. The need of to-day is to find in the town an adequate substitute for the village of yesterday.

The school naturally suggests itself as an example of a wider, and yet not too wide, organisation. Here we have members of many families brought together, and brought together under such conditions that each forms a part of an association larger than the family, but not so large as to prevent the individual tracing distinctly the effect of his influence. The older secondary schools have gradually created for themselves a spirit and a tradition without which a corporate life is unmeaning. Time and the lapse of years are essential elements in the growth of such a sentiment. But in spite of their comparatively short existence, and notwithstanding the shifting nature of the population, certain of the elementary schools are following in the same track and are recognised as factors that count in the neighbourhood where they are placed. They are becoming something more than training-grounds for the mind, and are beginning to be schools of citizenship. The children, fortunate enough to be enrolled on the registers, are proud of their school, will walk long distances to continue attendance after their parents have removed from the locality, and return occasionally to the old school, when schooldays are over, to visit again the scenes of their childhood.

This is precisely the sentiment we desire to encourage, indicating as it does the existence of an affection for some life wider and more intricate than that of the family. But if we desire to foster this

sentiment, we must pay regard not merely to the work of the school but also to its play. Book lessons are essentially individualistic, amusements are social. There is a spirit in recreation which is not, and can not, be found on the intellectual side of existence. Repeated experience has proved that if we want school spirit we must encourage school games. It is in times of happiness, in times of freedom when the more rigid discipline is relaxed, that we drink in those influences which remain to us as pleasant memories, bringing with them the savour of youthful struggles and youthful joys. Moreover, school-games and patriotism are animated by the same spirit; the spirit of men who talk little and do much, whose pride, if such there be, is the pride of fellow-workers in a comrade who has won the prize for which all have laboured.

We want, therefore, in our elementary schools more games and amusements, school-sports, inter-school competitions; in short, all those friendly rivalries of school and school which help the children to realise that they are sharing in a wider existence than the narrow routine of the home, and themselves contributing to the welfare and good name of the whole. Already the teachers have given ungrudgingly of their leisure and their money to forward movements of this character; and the success which has rewarded their experiments should make us think whether the day has not come for the State to lend its aid. The Board of Education now permits organised games to be included as a part of the curriculum. We might well devote half a day a week to this purpose. At the present time the playing-fields in the Parks are only used on

Saturdays; it would, if we adopted this course, be possible to use them every afternoon. Doubtless difficulties stand in the way, but difficulties exist not to conquer but to be overcome.

Now in addition to recreations of this character, there existed in days gone by whole rounds of games and festivals, which are now become little more than a name. There were the children's singing games, which were so many comedies and tragedies celebrating the perennial interests of man's career. The sowing and the reaping of the corn; courtship and marriage and childbirth; death and mourning and the burying of the dead—these were the themes of the songs, all springing from the elemental facts and mysteries of existence. To these must be added the solemn festivals and pageants marking the progress of the year and shared in by old and young alike. The Midsummer vigil, the feasts of sheep-shearing and harvest-home, and many another, each distinguished by appropriate ceremonies, gave a dignity to those operations which served the needs of men. Above all, there were the May-Day revels round the Queen of May, celebrating the victory of the summer sun over the frosts and death of winter. Many of these old-time customs and games have been successfully revived, even in a town, where the school hall takes the place of the village green.

The old games and festivals of Merrie England merit revival because they possess characteristics which are absent from the amusements of modern times. These last are essentially artificial, something hung on to and not growing out of life. They no longer, as heretofore, circle round the

elemental facts of existence; or if they come in contact, they do so only to caricature and excite ridicule. A man who appears on the stage of a Music Hall with monstrously distorted legs, or with a bladder attached to his face to represent some loathsome disease, will rouse roars of laughter. If marriage is the theme of a song, the verses will aim at making the whole affair ludicrous; if death, then the sentiment is clammy, unnatural and unhealthy. Other amusements, such as betting and gambling and the passion for novel forms of excitement, are equally artificial; they are so many attempts to escape from and not to enrich life. Now, the peculiarity of the old games and festivals lies in the fact that they are all closely connected with and grow out of life, adding a solemnity to the events of existence. People old enough to put off folly are apt to rejoice at their disappearance and to assert that marriage and death are far too serious matters to be turned into the frivolity of a game. Nothing could indicate more clearly the distance we have travelled from the old notions of amusements than this misuse of the word serious. For seriousness differs from dulness, which is usually regarded as a synonym, by the addition of the element of joyousness. Serious is the epithet which exactly describes the spirit of the old games. Nowadays children are the only people who can be really serious, because they are the only people who can be really joyous. "In our seriousness," said a child in a school composition, "we are in our joyousness." In the foreground lies the sparkle of the sunshine, in the background stand the dim realities of life.

We have distorted the meaning of the word game. Once on a time, if we wished to emphasise the supreme importance of an event, we turned it into a game; nowadays if we desire to represent a thing as supremely ridiculous we make game of it. Life will never become serious until, by the proper development of games, we render it at the same time joyous.

Much space has been devoted to this question of games, because games have a close connection with the larger relations, and in their natural, as distinguished from the present artificial, form are expressions of corporate life and a common brotherhood. For, however much we instil the duty of patriotism, we can never look for much success until we can show that the country is filled with pleasant places; and these places will not be filled with that kind of pleasantness we desire, unless they bring with them that unique aroma which gathers round places which were pleasant to the child. If we can succeed in investing some one spot, even though it be but a school, with that charm which time serves only to deepen and to hallow, we shall have advanced far on the road that leads towards our goal; and this one spot will be to the man, as Kelmscott was to William Morris. "It has come to be to me," he writes, "the type of the pleasant places of the earth . . . and as others love the race of men through their lovers or their children, so I love the earth through that small space of it."

Now, if we can foster school sentiment and stimulate that spirit which is associated with games, we shall at least have taken one step in the

encouragement of patriotism. But we shall still be left far from realising that wider relationship. For the relation of native place or school to the country is not clear of itself. We must look to education to establish the connection and to establish it by the adoption of three methods of training. The first depends on the actual subjects taught in the school, the second on a system of excursions that will give reality to their lessons, and the third on forms and ceremonies chosen to render this instruction impressive.

History appears the natural subject to teach the child his relation to his country. But the subject, for many reasons, has never been very popular in the schools. Teachers fight shy of it as the children, when put to the test, often fail to do themselves justice. The subject is so vast and the ways of examiners so capricious, that it is impossible to foresee the line of enquiry any particular inspector may elect to pursue. He may have an affection for monarchs, and exhibit curiosity about the claims of the early kings to the throne of France, or may seek to unravel the matrimonial complications of an amateur Bluebeard. He may have a taste for detail and endeavour to discover when tea was first introduced, to which eye Nelson applied his telescope, or on what day of the week the Magna Charta was signed. On the other hand, he may display a pretty fancy for the picturesque and devote his time to the elucidation of such problems as what William the Conqueror said when his horse trod on a hot cinder, or who did what when a Queen desired to cross a muddy road. Now the difficulty of fortifying children to resist so varied an

attack is serious; and there is little cause for wonder if teachers avoid the lumber-room of rubbish that goes by the name of history. All these subtle interrogatories have no more connection with patriotism than the chronology of the kings of Judah and Jonah's submarine voyage have with religion.

Now the Germans have followed a better method, and the German's love of the fatherland is largely due to the careful teaching the children receive in the schools. The plans followed there need but a few obvious changes to adapt them for use in this country. The lessons ought to commence early, and should begin even in the infant department. Here the children will wander happily in the legend-strewn land of King Arthur, Robin Hood, and other romantic heroes. The reading-books, instead of dealing with such problems as how the cat caught the mouse, or how disobedient Tommy fell in the pond, will tell how St George slew the dragon, and King Alfred burned the cakes. In this way the child's first idea of his country will come to him wrapt in the wonder-hues of the land of far away and invested with the matchless charm that belongs to the home of the fairies.

In the senior departments history will be taught chronologically in large unbroken periods. The children will learn how the Saxons won England for their country, how for a while there were fierce struggles with foes from without, and how, finally, the union of all the yeomen that came from the villages secured them their independence. Omitting, for the most part, all reference to Court intrigue, they will be taught that later history, so far as the

bulk of the population was concerned, turns on the battle for freedom waged against tyranny from within, and is the tale of a nation working out its own salvation. It is these common people, with their homely habits, their reserved manners and their stubborn resolution, whom the children will grow to admire and to love. Nor is it necessary to draw down the curtain at the close of the Napoleonic wars. Especial attention will be devoted to the industrial revolution, the rise of Trade Unionism, and the increasing importance of association. They will hear how the persistent activity of one small group freed the slaves, and the energy of another won for them the charter of their own freedom through the early Factory Acts. If the teacher pleases, he may explain the meaning of the different political parties; but if, as is most likely, he can find no meaning, he can at least give them as instances of successful combination to secure, if not the welfare of their country, at least the interests of themselves and their own order.

Now, unless certain guiding principles are borne in mind, history degenerates into idle gossip and fable on the one hand, and the arid bones of disconnected fact on the other. First and foremost the children must hear that the country of which they are learning is their own; that its future rests on the present, and that the present is theirs to make or mar; that the present has grown from out a past, the slow creation of men of former times, who have given their lives, without thought of reward and often without expectation of success, because England asked of them this sacrifice. Next the bombast and swagger of a bastard

patriotism must be avoided. We need not impress on children that the sun never sets on the King's dominions, and at the same time leave unnoted the kind of sights this omnipresent luminary surveys on his daily journey. It were better that they should learn that the word "country" cannot be used to cloak a crime, and that sin does not become virtue when identified with the expressed will of a nation. They will hear how in its thousand-year-old existence the people of England have oft sojourned in the wilderness of error, and wandered many a league down the road that leadeth to destruction, paying the penalty of their sin to the uttermost. Finally, history must teach that each nation, great or small, has a country of its own, and enforce the lesson that to ensure to others the enjoyment of this treasure is a nobler act than with blood and violence to tear it from their possession.

The history lessons will of course be closely connected with the other subjects of the curriculum. As reading-books for the upper standards, selections will be chosen from the writings of the authors who belong to the period studied. For recitations and for songs, the old ballads and the old tunes, with their atmosphere of Merrie England, will take the place of the lays of the minor poets. The history of the children's native place, appealing as it alone can to personal experience, must appear as an integral part of the history of their country. There is hardly a town which is not associated with some great person or some noteworthy event. London is in this respect pre-eminent; the evils of its cumbrous and disjointed vastness find compensation in the part it has played in England's

story. The city, the bridges, the names of the old streets and the ancient buildings, all alike call up memories from the cold past and make it warm. Excursions to places of interest and pilgrimages to the tombs of the great dead will give to the lessons a reality appealing, not to the mind only, but also to the imagination.

Finally, there is a mystical element in patriotism. A country is something more than a collection of warehouses supplying our necessities, or than a universal provider of joys and pleasures; it boasts an individual existence stronger and wider than our own. It demands our love with a right that needs no justification, and our service with a power that brooks no appeal. We do not love our country because it gives us prosperity—wealth, happiness and the like are but flowers we pluck on the journey —we are prosperous because our love is true. Its endless life, its mighty claims and its march towards some far distant and unknown goal, belong to those overlapping and unlimited events of existence which excite wonder and receive reverence. All objects, moreover, for which men sacrifice their lives are sacred. They may spend their lives to amass wealth, but they do not give their lives to win it. They offer a life for a life, a life for their religion, a life for their country. Life, religion and country belong therefore to those ideas termed sacred.

Now, when we are dealing with sacred things we need some symbol that shall stand for the object of our veneration and make vivid appeal to the senses. The flag is the natural symbol of a country. At the present time the Union Jack is supplied to many schools and hangs idly flapping over the best attend-

ing class. This is surely the profanation of the sacred; if we treat the country or its symbol with indifference, we can hardly expect children to pay it reverence. The flag should be produced only on rare occasions, and then accompanied with solemn ceremony worthy of an emblem for which men have died. It would probably be wise to substitute for the Union Jack the less known and less vulgarised banner of St George. In the school year certain days must be set apart as days of national thanksgiving. At such seasons processions, with appropriate songs and pageant, will be held in honour of some great event or famous man. In other words, what is required is a kind of ritualistic patriotism. There will be placed in the infant school, near some darkened corner, a cupboard associated with the name of country. Out of this cupboard on the festal days will be brought things bright and glittering and appealing to the senses—emblems of days of long ago—while in the senior departments historical scenes will be acted by the children clad in appropriate costumes; the old ballads will be sung and the old games played. In selecting the heroes most worthy of admiration, it will be best, in times like the present, not to choose men who have swept over the universe in a whirl of destructive triumph, but to prefer those who have engaged in a hopeless struggle and faced the issue with the spirit of that resistant resignation which transcends all despair and awaits with serene confidence the vindication which the future must surely bring.

If some such system of training as this be instituted, the children will at least be taught that they have a country—a sacred thing to which they owe

their love. They will learn that this love of country, or patriotism, is a pure affection for the land in which they dwell; the land for which their forefathers toiled and bled; the land which, as its latest born inheritors, they must one day hand down to their sons, glorified with the halo of holy deeds and untarnished by a single act of shame.

(4.) *The Relation to the World.*

There is no need to dwell at any length on the wider relations of the child to the world. For if he has grasped the significance of the smaller relations —the relation to his family, to his school, to his native place and to his country—and learned how to render them active instead of passive, he will have learned all that it is necessary for him to know. To add one more to the series of expanding circles which bring him into wider contact with his fellow-creatures introduces no new principle and involves no fresh difficulty.

The significance of the different relations is everywhere the same. Certain persons form themselves into a group in order to work for the interests of that group. To secure this common good, subordination and self-restraint are essential; but something more than this is necessary. The group is a mere fragment of a whole, with whose welfare its own is intimately connected. It in turn, therefore, becomes a unit of a larger group, to whose welfare it and the other groups contribute. Each group is thus at once an end in itself and a means towards another and more remote end. In the ideal society, as in the ideal existence, each act will be charged with happiness, and at the same time be the earnest

of a greater happiness to come. Whatever the relation which lies at the basis of the group may be, we must throw ourselves into its life without constraint, and work, albeit with the spirit of the partisan, to forward its cause; otherwise failure will follow. But we must also not ignore the broader relations which take a more extensive survey of human affairs, or failure in the lesser aim is again inevitable.

Finally, just as the interests of some small group, to which we belong, is bound up with the interests of the larger group, so if we wish to benefit some individual, such as our Ceylon tea-gatherer hitherto left forlorn, we shall reach him by doing our duty in the lesser groups and using them as the means towards the end. In face of the vast numbers which together make up the world of modern time, the individual is left helpless. He may well echo the cry of the Brittany sailor: "God help me, the ocean is so wide and my boat is so small." But he is helpless only so long as he stands alone; his strength lies in association, and only if he invoke its assistance can he secure that his desire shall issue in effective action. Thus we must be a member of a family before we can be parochial, parochial before patriotic, patriotic before imperial, and imperial before we can hope to reach the far confines of humanity.

There still remains one difficulty, which must be set at rest before we can drop the matter. We saw in an earlier portion of this chapter that certain people have attacked the unity of the family or the unity of the country, because it tended, by encouraging an inclusive selfishness, to a disregard of the

wider claims of humanity. We recognised the danger, which is indeed very real, but urged, as the relation was indispensable, we must do our best to avoid its accompanying evil. These persons will doubtless complain that little indication has been given of how this may be done. They will urge that we have set up a series of little self-centred worlds, without necessary means of communication or intercourse, and will claim that their objection still holds good. Their argument merits and must have an answer. Further, there are those who point out that the relations proposed are liable to accident and disaster, that the groups they create may at any time be broken up and the individuals left forlorn in helplessness and isolation. Their argument likewise merits and must have an answer. We seem to want some element of corporate existence which will at once share in each of the relations and at the same time overflow the borders of each, a kind of atmosphere permeating all, and the exclusive possession of none. This element must also be continuous throughout and boast a permanence, proof against the rudest onslaughts of a cruel fate. Now, as a matter of fact, there is such a relation, possessing just the characteristics required. We have already studied it at length under one aspect; we must now approach it from a slightly different point of view.

This relation, the most permanent, and at once the most individual and the most universal, of relations, which has hitherto been ignored, is to be sought in the influence of religion. It is the most permanent, because there never comes a moment, in life of child or man, when its threads are torn

across. The school years draw to an end and remain only as a tender memory of times which will not return. The family circle is broken through by death, or by that drifting apart almost inevitable under the conditions of modern industry; and the ties once snapped cannot be rejoined, and the new ties that are formed are not continuous with the old. In this age of emigration men leave their native country and sever connection with the land of their birth; and though reunion is possible, it is only a hope and not a reality. But through all these changes and chances of life the relation of religion remains intact; it follows the child from the cradle to the grave, and on into the great unknown beyond. Religion is individual, because it is concerned with a man's soul; it is universal, because it is concerned with all men's souls. It is domestic and parochial, because nothing is too small for its survey; it is patriotic and world-wide, because nothing is too large. It belongs to no one relation, because it belongs to all; it enters all, but only to widen their scope and intensify their significance; it breaks down the chains of self-interest, but only to unite them again in the brotherhood of humanity. In its eyes all men are equal, without parents and without country, because all men are divine, sons of one Father and fellow-citizens of His Kingdom.

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